

ANALECTA ORIENTALIA
COMMENTATIONES SCIENTIFICAES DE REBUS ORIENTALIBUS

26

ARAM NAHARAI

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF
MESOPOTAMIA IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM

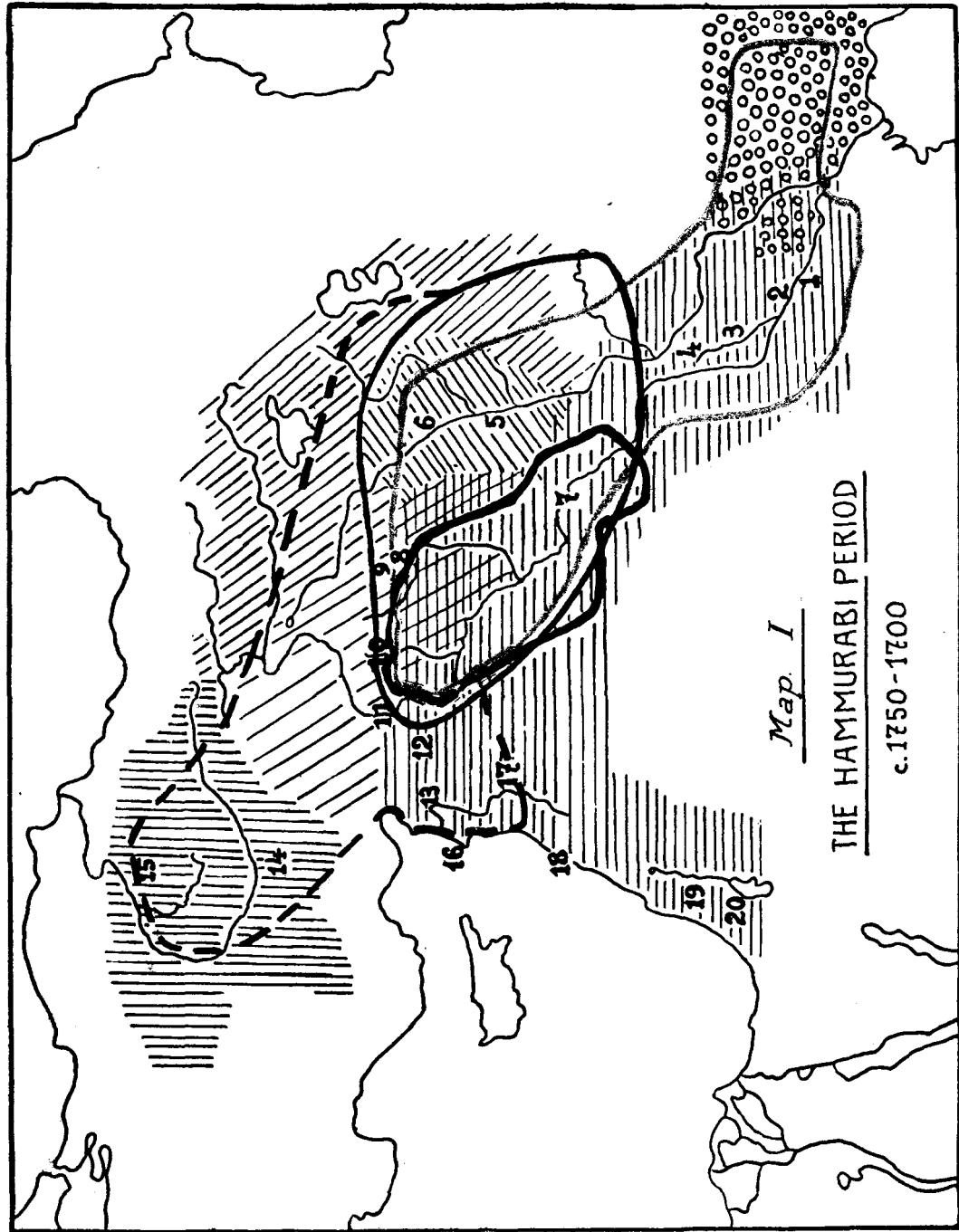
WITH AN APPENDIX ON INDO-ARYAN NAMES



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Peoples:

—	<i>Western Semites</i>
—	<i>Amorites</i>
—	<i>Babylonians</i>
—	<i>Hurrians</i>
—	<i>Hittites</i>
—	<i>Elamites</i>

Kingdoms:

Mari (Zimri-Lim)
- Babylon (Hamurabi)
- Assyria (Shamshi-Adad);
the broken line = represents
this probable farthest conquest,
coinciding in the northwest
with the boundaries of the early
Assyrian colonies.

CITIES AND TOWNS

1 - <i>Ur</i>	11 - <i>Carchemish</i>
2 - <i>Larsa</i>	12 - <i>Meppo</i>
3 - <i>Isin</i>	13 - <i>Alalakh</i>
4 - <i>Babel</i>	14 - <i>Kanash</i>
5 - <i>Bassur</i>	15 - <i>Mattusas</i>
6 - <i>Ninoveh</i>	16 - <i>Ugarit</i>
7 - <i>Mari</i>	17 - <i>Batna</i>
8 - <i>Braig</i>	18 - <i>Biblos</i>
9 - <i>Magar Bazar</i>	19 - <i>Shechem</i>
10 - <i>Karran</i>	20 - <i>Jerusalem</i>

Map I. THE HAMMURABI PERIOD

c.1750-1700

..... - Hurrian and Indo-
Aryan Symbiosis.

Peoples:

- ===== - Semites (Khâlâni, etc.)
- ===== - Assyrians
- ===== - Hurrians
- ===== - Hittites
- ===== - Cassites
- ===== - Canaanites

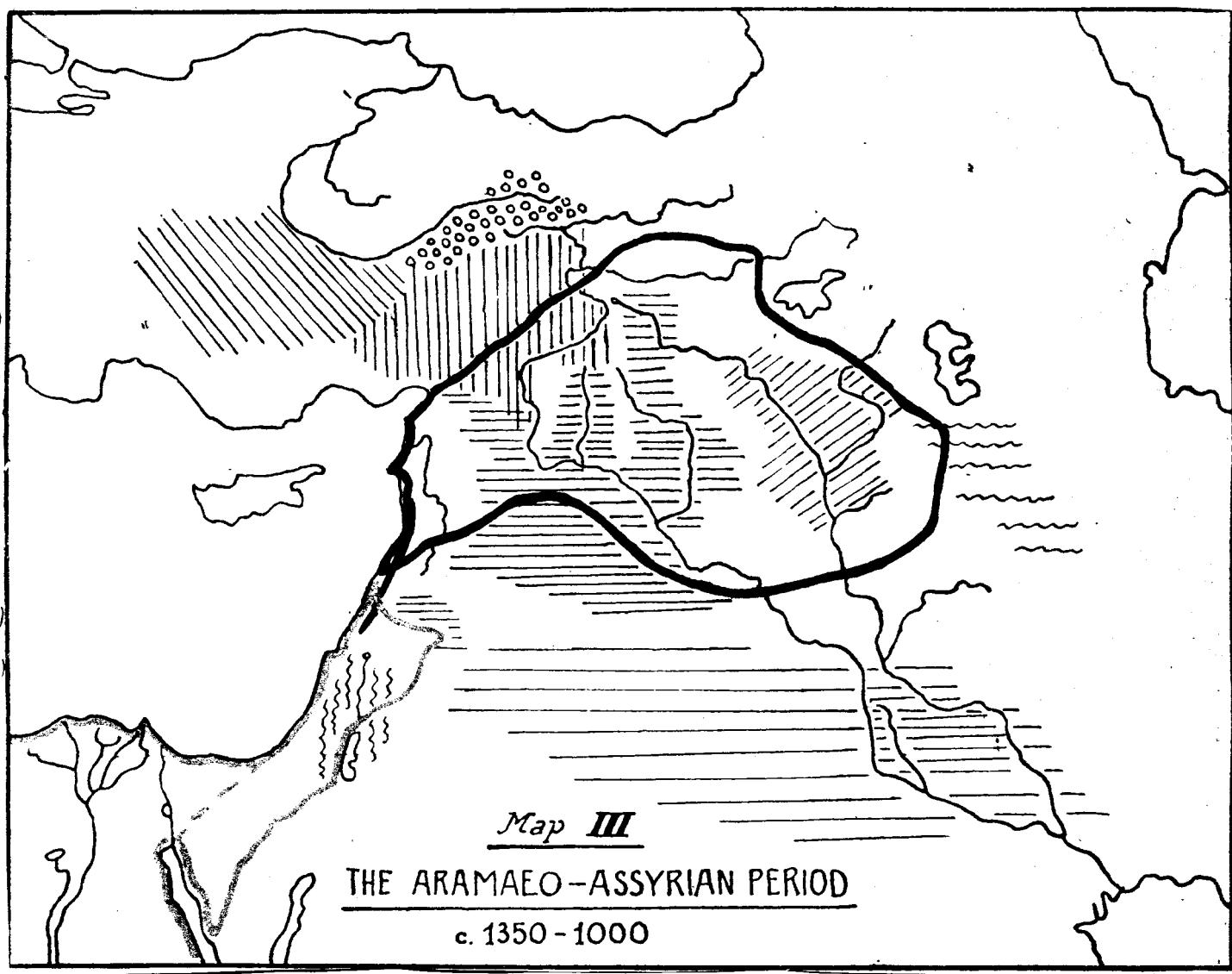
Political boundaries:

- Mitannian (Saush c. 1410)
- Egyptian (Tuth. M c. 1450)
- Babylonian (Burn. K c. 1310)
- Hittite (Suppl. c. 1360)
- Assyrian (Is. ub. I c. 1350)

Cities and Sites:

- 1 - Babel
- 16 - Alalakh
- 2 - Eschunna
- 17 - Ugarit
- 3 - Kuzzu
- 18 - Tunip
- 4 - Arrapkha
- 19 - Yamath
- 5 - Assur
- 20 - Qatna
- 6 - Kanneh
- 21 - Kadesh
- 7 - Mari
- 22 - Byblos
- 8 - Tirqa
- 23 - Richo
- 9 - Brâg
- 24 - Taanach
- 10 - Cigardazar
- 25 - Shechem
- 11 - Kassitukkum
- 26 - Jerusalem
- 12 - Tell Halâf
- 27 - Rasalon
- 13 - Harran
- 28 - Kanish
- 14 - Cardemish
- 29 - Khatumus
- 15 - Aleppo

Map II
THE MITANNI PERIOD
c. 1470 - 1350



Aram Naharaim: A Contribution to the History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Second Millennium B.C. With an appendix on Indo-Aryan names [from Mitanni, Nuzu and Syro-Palestinian documents], by Roger Timothy O'Callaghan and Paul Emile Dumont (Rome, 1948), Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, in 172 searchable pdf pages.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* (Liverpool, 1908—).

AASOR *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (New Haven, 1919—).

AE *Asien und Europa*, by W. M. Müller (Leipzig, 1893).

AEO *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I and II - Text, III - Plates, by Alan H. Gardiner (Oxford, 1947).

AfO *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Berlin, 1926—).

AI *Aram and Israel*, by Emil Kraeling (New York, 1918).

AJA *American Journal of Archaeology* (Concord, N. H., Series II, 1932—).

AJSL *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago, 1896-1941, now replaced by *JNES*).

AO *Der Alte Orient* (Leipzig, 1903—).

APB *The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, by W. F. Albright (New York, 1932).

AR *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 5 vols., by J. H. Breasted (Chicago, 1906-1907).

ARAB *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vols., by D. D. Luckenbill (Chicago, 1926 and 1927).

ARI *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, by W. F. Albright (Baltimore, 2nd edition, 1946).

ATG *Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 2nd edit., by H. Gressmann and others (Berlin, 1926).

ATT "A Preliminary Account of the Tablets from Atchana", *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX (1939), pp. 38-48, by Sidney Smith.

BA *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (Leipzig, 1890-1913).

BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Baltimore, 1929—).

BoSt. *Boghazköi-Studien*, hrsg. von O. Weber (Leipzig, 1917-1924).

BoTU *Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, by E. O. Forrer (Leipzig, 1922-1926).

CT *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum* (London, 1896—).

EA *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, 2 Bde. hrsg. von J. A. Knudtzon, *Anmerkungen und Register* bearbeitet von O. Weber und E. Ebeling (Leipzig, 1915).

EHA *Early History of Assyria*, by Sidney Smith (London, 1928).

ETL *Egyptian Topographical Lists*, by J. Simons, S. J. (Leiden, 1937).

FSAC *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, by W. F. Albright (Baltimore, 2nd edition, 1946).

GA *Geschichte des Altertums*, in four parts, by Ed. Meyer, (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1910-1931).

GP *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2 vols., by F. M. Abel, O. P. (Paris, 1933 and 1938).

GV *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Aegyptens vom 16. Jahrhundert v. Christus bis auf die Neuzeit*. I. Bd. 16-11. Jahrhundert vor Christus, by Fr. Bilabel (Heidelberg, 1927).

HA *History of Assyria*, by A. T. Olmstead (New York, 1923).

HE *A History of Egypt*, by J. H. Breasted (New York, 1905).

HCA *Hethiter, Churriten und Assyrer*, by A. Götze (Oslo, 1936).

HPS *History of Palestine and Syria*, by A. T. Olmstead (New York, 1931).

HS *Hurrians and Subarians*, by I. J. Gelb (Chicago, 1944).

HSS *Harvard Semitic Series* (Cambridge, Mass., 1912—).

HUCA *Hebrew Union College Annual* (Cincinnati, 1924—).

IAK *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, in the *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, published by F. M. Th. Böhl, Br. Meissner and E. F. Weidner (Leipzig, 1926—).

IH *Introduction to Hurrian*, by E. Speiser (= *AASOR*, XX, 1940-41).

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Boston, etc., 1849—).

JBL *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis* (New Haven, 1890—).

JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1914—).

JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago, 1942—).

JSOR *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research* (Toronto, 1917—1932).

KAH *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, 1. Heft hrsg. von L. Meissner, 2. Heft hrsg. von O. Schroeder (Leipzig, 1911 und 1922).

KAO "Kleinasiens" in *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, 3. Abschnitt, 1. Band der *Altertumswissenschaft*, 3. Abt., 1. Teil, 3 Bd. by A. Göteze (Leipzig, 1911).

KA V *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, by O. Schroeder (Leipzig, 1911).

KB *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, 6 vols., published by E. Schrader (Berlin, 1875).

KBA *Könige Babylonien und Assyriens*, by Br. Meissner (Leipzig, 1926).

KBo *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, 6 vols., by H. H. Figuer, R. Koldewey, and F. Hrozný (Leipzig, 1916—1921).

KUB *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*. Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Vorbericht (Berlin, 1921—).

MAOG *Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1942—).

MO *Mesopotamian Origins*, by E. Speiser (Philadelphia, 1930).

MVA(e)G *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch(en) (-Ägyptischen) Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1890—1909—).

NPN *Nuzi Personal Names*, by I. J. Gelb, P. M. Purves and A. R. Mackay (Chicago, 1922—).

OIC *Oriental Institute Communications*. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, (Chicago, 1922—).

OIP *Oriental Institute Publications*. The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, (Chicago, 1924—).

OLZ *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1898—1908; Leipzig, 1900—).

Orientalia *Orientalia. Commentarii periodici de rebus Orientis Antiqui editi a Instituto Biblico* (Nova Series, Roma, 1932—).

PEQ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (London, 1937—).

RA *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* (Paris, 1884—).

RB *Revue biblique* (Paris, 1892—).

RÉS *Revue des études sémitiques* (Paris, 1934—).

RHA *Revue hittite et asianique* (Paris, 1930—).

RHR *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1880—).

RIU *Ur Excavations. Texts. I. Royal Inscriptions*, by C. J. Gadd and L. Woolley, contributions by Sidney Smith and E. R. Burrows (London, 1928).

RLA *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1932—).

RLV *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (Berlin, 1924—).

SAK *Die sumerischen und akkадischen Königsinschriften*, by F. Thureau-Dangin (Paris, 1905).

Subartu *Subartu. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Völkerkunde Vorderasiens* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1936).

Syria *Syria. Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie* (Paris, 1920—).

TC *Textes cunéiformes du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1910—).

TH *Der Tell Halaf*, by Max Freiherr von Oppenheim (Leipzig, 1937).

Urk. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 4 vols., by K. Sethe (Leipzig, 1906—1911).

VS *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Hefte 1—16 (17 vols., Leipzig, 1900—1910).

YOR, YOT *Yale Oriental Series, Researches and Texts* (New Haven, 1912—1922).

tively).

ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Leipzig, 1886—).

ZAS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Leipzig, 1881—).

ZATW *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Berlin 1881—).

ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1877—).

ZDPV *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (Leipzig, 1878—).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	XI
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	XIII
CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION	
A) Purpose: A Political and Cultural History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Second Millennium B. C.	1
B) Method	2
C) Sources: Written and Unwritten	3
CHAPTER II - EARLY HISTORY OF NAHARAIM	
A) Geography of Upper Mesopotamia	5
B) The most Recently Established Chronology for Early Western Asia	6
C) The Late Third Millennium B. C.	
1. Influence from Sumer	11
2. The Semites. Period of Naram-Sin	14
3. The Early Amorites	18
CHAPTER III - THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM	
A) The Cappadocian Tablets. An Amorite Power at Mari	22
B) Alalakh and Chagar Bazar. The Patriarchal Age	27
C) Problems of the Hammurabi Period. The Hittites	32
D) The Hurrian and Subarian Problem	
1. Initial Studies	37
2. The Hurrians are not Subarians	40
E) Résumé	49
CHAPTER IV - THE MITANNI KINGDOM	
A) Its Internal Structure	
1. The Hurrians in Mitanni	51
2. The Indo-Aryans. The Mitannian Symbiosis	56
3. The Indo-Aryan Problem	68
4. Cultural Aspects of the Mitanni Period	79
B) Its Foreign Relations	
1. Egyptian Intervention in Mesopotamia	74
2. Mesopotamian Regional and Political Terms	78
3. The International Scene. Egypt and the Hittites	82
4. The Downfall of the Mitanni Kingdom	88

CHAPTER V - THE ARAMAEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

A) The Rise and Expansion of the Aramaeans

1. The Sutū and the Akhlāmu. Aramaeans in the West
2. Aramaeans in Eastern and Northern Mesopotamia

B) The Middle Assyrian Empire

C) Cultural Aspects of the Aramaeo-Assyrian Period

CHAPTER VI - ISRAEL AND ARAM

A) Before David

B) The Aramaean States in Southern Syria

C) David's Wars with Syria

CHAPTER VII - ARAM NAHARAIM

A) The Sources

1. The Egyptian Inscriptions
2. The el-Amarna Letters
3. The Old Testament
4. The Assyrian Inscriptions

B) Summary

CHAPTER VIII - CONCLUSION

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

APPENDIX — INDO-ARYAN NAMES by P. E. DUMONT

INDICES

PLATES

MAPS

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE, METHOD, SOURCES.

A) Purpose.

As in the case of most quarters of the ancient world, Assyria, Babylonia, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, histories of various intent and scope have been written, so also in the case of Mesopotamia is this true, although perhaps to a somewhat lesser degree with regard to Upper Mesopotamia. Respecting this latter region, students of the Old Testament are only too well acquainted with the not infrequent phrase אֶרְםָנָה. It is one which indicates a region which has been generally treated only *en passant* in the usual histories of Israel and Assyria⁽¹⁾, and even in more specialized works on the Aramaeans⁽²⁾. It is the purpose of this work to try to ascertain what we should properly understand of the whole district affected by this term and hence it will consider the problem with a threefold objective in view. First, geographical boundaries will have to be determined; second, its political history will have to be presented in a clear light; finally, unless we are to remain contented with an unfinished portrait, an adequate conception of its material culture must emerge as far as possible from the welter of facts and figures. By material culture we mean in this work that whole complex of exterior social structure, customary and domestic usage, and exclusive art motifs, as preserved to us both in written documents and inarticulate archaeological sources. In this sense we are not, therefore, directly concerned with the study of higher aesthetic pursuits nor with an *ex professo* treatment of religion as such, although, it is true, the materials at our disposal will often border on these. In respect to time, our main interest centers roughly on the second millennium B. C., beyond the early and late extremes of which our subject does not necessarily call for consideration. Since, however, in analogy to time and space, history and the affairs of men present a continuum, even in those events which superficially appear as "sudden upheavals", it is difficult to make clear lines of demarcation in every case and so we shall approach our study from the twenty-third century B. C. and carry it on down to approximately the close of the tenth century B. C.

It would hardly seem requisite here to point out the timeliness of such a study. Within the past hundred years, and especially within the last twenty-five, archaeological discoveries from the Nile to Euphrates have obliged us to reshape and, in many instances, to formulate for

⁽¹⁾ Cf. R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, p. 467; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, New York (1931), pp. 159, 195 ff., 221 *et passim*; A. Schoepfer, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, München (1923), p. 43.

⁽²⁾ Cf. E. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, New York (1918), pp. 21, 23; S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 56 ff.

the very first time our knowledge of Aram Naharaim. Presently we shall outline more in detail just what these welcome aids are. For the present, let it suffice to remark that so varied are they in origin and content, and so far-reaching in their import, that an evaluation of them, even if only tentative, is made imperative. Not that excellent and commendable studies have not already been presented to the learned world - on the contrary, individual phases of Mesopotamian ethnic background (1), of Mitannian linguistic research (2), of specific Hittite problems (3), of Hurrian and Aramaean culture (4), and other pertinent topics have been pursued with gratifying results. But all these, in view of the relative newness of the field and the very complex situation they present, call for further investigation, and so we are justified in making one more venture into this rich and interesting country.

It is plain, too, that any new success we can gain in this direction will be of immediate and acknowledged usefulness for our understanding of the Old Testament, so great is its dependence on Mesopotamia, especially in its narratives of the patriarchal times and very frequently thereafter.

B) Method.

In order to assure a coordinated presentation of our study it is advisable at this point to outline our manner of procedure. The most feasible plan to follow is, first of all, to discuss that general region which is usually admitted from the outset to be Aram Naharaim. This would be the district extending roughly from Carchemish and Aleppo as a western boundary towards the east along the upper Euphrates as far as the Khabur river. This latter boundary on the south would be matched on the north by another line drawn more or less from Urfa (Edessa) to Tell Halaf or even beyond to Nisibis (5). Such a discussion will be undertaken in chapters

(1) E. g., E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, Philadelphia (1930); also "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B. C.", *AASOR*, XX, pp. 13-54; A. Goetze, *Hethiter, Churriten und Assyrier*, Oslo (1936); A. Ungnad, *Subartu*, Leipzig (1936); and most recently, I. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago (1944).

(2) E. g., L. Messerschmidt, "Mitanni-Studien", *MVAG*, IV, 2 (1899); F. Bork, "Die Mitannisprache", *op. cit.*, 1909, also "Studien zum Mitanni", *AfO*, VIII (1923), p. 312 ff.; most recently J. Friedrich, "Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik", *MVAeG*, XLII, 2 (1939). "Churritische Adjektiva auf -uzzi", *Orientalia*, XI, pp. 350-352; "Die erste Gesamtdarstellung der churritischen Grammatik", *ibid.*, XII (1943), pp. 190-225. The last mentioned article gives a brief summary and warm approval of E. Speiser's "Introduction to Hurrian", *AASOR*, XX (1941), where full references are given. Among the latter may be mentioned A. Goetze, "'To Come' and 'To Go' in Hurrian", *Language*, 15 (1939), pp. 215-220; "The Hurrian Verbal System", *ibid.*, 16 (1940), pp. 125-140; "The N-form of the Hurrian Noun", *JAOS*, 60 (1940), pp. 217-223.

(3) E. g., J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire*, London (1929); A. Goetze, "Die Annalen des Muršiliš", *MVAeG*, XXXVIII (1933); G. Furlani, *La religione degli Hittiti*, Bologna (1936), and other important works especially by B. Hrozný, E. Forrer and J. Friedrich.

(4) Besides works already referred to which concern both Aramaeans and Hurrians, one may call attention to the advanced Hurrian culture unearthed at Nuzu and the many well-known studies growing about it. Let it also be noted here that, except when quoting the titles of other works, we shall employ the form Nuzu, which is correct for the nominative case.

(5) For the sake of convenience in designating this region, we may be permitted to anachronize by referring to it, even in early times, as Aram Naharaim, even though the phrase as such occurs much after the time at which our study begins.

two to six according to the purpose explained above, the subject matter being divided according to convenient successive stages. Secondly, in chapter seven, individual texts wherein the phrase Aram Naharaim occurs will be considered, with an attempt to add further precision to the conclusions of the preceding chapters from the meaning of the phrase in context. Then, in a final chapter, we shall gather together the varied strands of our narrative and present in recapitulation the resultant pattern of Aram Naharaim which these threads, woven on the framework of time and space, have served to produce.

C) Sources.

The sources which are indispensable for such a study are both written and unwritten. It is fitting that both groups be briefly discussed at this point. Of the former we shall have recourse to the new Hurrian material, to Accadian literature, to royal Egyptian inscriptions and to the West Semitic sources as preserved to us in the Old Testament, the Ras Shamra tablets and Aramaic inscriptions. To consider our list in order, the Hurrian sources (¹) are at present a continually growing body of documentary material, varied in geographical origin, but nevertheless showing a close linguistic kinship throughout its many parts. And here, for bulk and continuity of subject, the Mitanni letter written by Tuishrata (c. 1390 B. C.) to Amenophis IV in Egypt claims first attention. Hurrian personal names from the First Dynasty of Babylon, and especially from the Accadian texts of Nuzu (15th cent.), Hurrian texts of religious import discovered in both the Mari documents (²) and the Hittite records of Boghazköy (18th and 14th centuries respectively), besides other vocabularies and incidental glosses, then, complete this new tool of research which is shedding light on the second millennium B. C. in a way hardly thought possible twenty-five years ago.

What is of direct concern for us in the Accadian literature is first the royal Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, which even as early as the time of Sargon of Accad refer to our region and especially from the time of Adad-nirari (1304-1273) increase steadily on through the centuries in their tales of Assyrian conquests in the upper Euphrates region. Later on we shall deal more specifically with the Cappadocian, the Mari and the Nuzu texts which reflect civilizations rather than constitute historical annals. The extreme self-adulation and extravagance of language patent in the records of the Assyrian kings are too well known perhaps to urge a word of caution here in interpreting them, yet such reserve is hardly necessary when treating of geographical detail or when drawing significant historical conclusions from the fact that often these campaigns were recurrent, even annual events. In other words, that there should have been so frequently an occasion for self-praise is more revealing than the praise itself. Secondly, in Accadian literature, we shall see that a number of the Amarna letters (c. 1375 B. C.) from local vassals in Syria of the Egyptian monarch show what was understood in the Egyptian world by *Nahrima*. Egyptian inscriptions themselves are of use to us beginning with the Eighteenth Dynasty (1570 B. C.), since it was hardly before then that the Pharaoh made his power felt in

(¹) E. Speiser, *IH*, p. 4 ff.

(²) F. Thureau-Dangin, "Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mâri", *RA*, 36 (1939), pp. 1-29.

the east beyond Palestine and the North Syrian coast. After this point, however, and on to the battle of Qarqar in 853, his intervention is very frequent and at times only the sobering knowledge of contemporary history will help check the accuracy of his narrated exploits.

Among the West Semitic sources the Old Testament holds pre-eminent rank since it preserves for us so rich a tradition regarding the local provenience of the patriarchs, with not infrequent references to the Horites, the biblical cousins of the Mesopotamian Hurrians. In recording the history of David's time, it brings much light to bear on the western Aramean states. So ready are the sacred writers to paint the disasters and moral shortcomings of their leaders and people as well as their virtues and triumphs, and so great has been the confirmation of their testimony by archaeology (1), that there seems little warrant for the almost instinctive and *a priori* distrust of the historicity of the biblical narrative which is sometimes encountered (2). The new Ras Shamra literature, being largely mythological and mainly revelatory of the Canaanite world, does not concern us except insofar as it hints at the wide diffusion of the Hurrians toward the west (3). Of more direct bearing on our problem may be the Aramaic inscriptions which bring to light conditions at Zendjirli, Hamath and in the northeastern Syrian states, before they are finally and irretrievably submerged in the onward flood of Assyrian might.

Among the unwritten sources we shall consider the now very rich archaeological data which so recently have been unearthed and are so helpful, apart from inscriptional material, in elucidating problems of varied ethnic cultures and in correlating their centers of deepest root-taking, especially for the period 1700-1500 B. C., when documents otherwise largely fail us. The chaotic conditions attending the Hyksos interlude in Egypt, the weakened state of Babylonia after the fall of its first dynasty, and the sudden cessation of Assyrian records leave us perplexed for this period (4), and make us lend speech to those other mute witnesses of the past which so often affect longer stretches of time than do written sources, apart from chronological or regnal lists as such. That is why we shall also turn to artistic cylinder seals of the Sargonid period, to pottery and varied artifacts from Alalakh in northern Syria, from Mari on the middle Euphrates or from Nuzu on the lower Zab, to complete our knowledge of the entire scene (5). Tombs uncovered in northern Palestine, orthostates from Tell Halaf, and stratified sites throughout the Fertile Crescent, all have their own story to tell of peoples, their ways and lot in life.

So much for the present will suffice as introduction to a subject which by now appears as quite extensive in scope. It is to be hoped that, while envisaging an objective of such proportions, we may at least succeed in throwing the whole into sharper focus for the consideration of future students, and also, perhaps, in bringing new and direct light thereby to bear on one or other hitherto obscure detail.

(1) Cf. J. Coppens, *The Old Testament and the Critics*, Paterson, N. J. (1942), p. 79; W. F. Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, New York (1932), pp. 155 ff.

(2) E. g., S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, Vorw., V; E. Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B. C.", *AASOR*, XIII (1933), p. 52.

(3) The main text is Ras Shamra X*4, being a list of 17 invocations to one or more deities; besides other small fragments, there is also a Sumero-Hurrian vocabulary.

(4) W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 151.

(5) For a comprehensive review of the archaeological history of Mesopotamia, confer André Parrot, *Archéologie mésopotamienne*, Paris (1946).

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF ARAM NAHARAIM..

A) The Geography of Upper Mesopotamia.

Before launching forth into the discussion proper of Aram Naharaim, it is hardly conceivable that one can grasp a clear idea of the vital interplay of the many forces, both political and cultural, that make up its history, without two things: first, an adequate knowledge of the physical nature of the land which so directly conditions the events that take place in it; and second, an accurate knowledge of the chronological relationship of the events themselves, as brought about by the forces in question. It is advisable, therefore, that from the very first we preface geographical considerations to any historical approach to our study. The most outstanding feature of Mesopotamia is the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, which, rising in the Armenian Mountains, wind across its bosom between the Zagros Mountains and the Syro-Arabian desert to pour their waters into the Persian Gulf⁽¹⁾. Close enough neighbors in their origin, they soon part ways, the Tigris in the east pursuing a more direct southeasterly route, while the Euphrates in the west makes a wide sweep as if to meet the Orontes in its march to the Mediterranean, only to swing away once more towards the east. Some two hundred and ninety miles distant from the Tigris at its farthest point, it reaches to within about thirty-five miles of it near modern Baghdad but falls off once more until they finally succeed in mingling their waters farther south at el-Qurna, and then as the present Shatt el-Arab they flow on together for approximately one hundred miles into the gulf below. In earlier times, as Pliny testifies (*Natural History*, VI, 130), they rolled on independently to the sea but were joined in the course of time as a result of the rich soil they brought down from the mountains together with alluvial deposits. Through the early draining of those newly formed plains about 4000 B. C.⁽²⁾, this lower region became literally a most fertile soil for the flowering of the great Sumerian and Babylonian cultures in art, literature and statecraft. Generally speaking, the two great rivers can boast of tributary waters and streams only when they shun each other's company. Thus in the farther east, the Diyala, the Great and the Little Zab feed into the Tigris, while in Upper Mesopotamia, which interests us more, the Balikh, rising near ancient Edessa, and the Khabur, rising near Mt. Karacadağ and augmented by many streams, pursue a roughly parallel course to the south to lose themselves in the Euphrates. These rivers became in very early times and

⁽¹⁾ Ämilian Schoepfer, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, München (1926), p. 40 ff.

⁽²⁾ W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 99; Meissner, *KBA*, p. 5.

long thereafter the natural foci of many sedentary cultures, as the Assyrian inscriptions and excavations of early sites abundantly and increasingly testify (1). It is manifest, too, that this immense Euphrates valley was inevitably to become the broad highway of commerce from early Babylonia, and later from Assyria, to Phoenicia, Anatolia and on to the Aegean, as well as the natural line of march for their conquering hosts, as they advanced to the west, to sweep down upon lower Syria, Palestine, and even, in the seventh century B. C. under Assurbanapal, upon Egypt itself. West of the Euphrates, the great Amanus Mountains and other highlands were the natural watershed of the Karasu and 'Afrin Rivers flowing toward Antioch near which they met the waters of the greater Orontes River, flowing north from between the Lebanon and Antilibanus, and then both emptied into the Mediterranean. Still further south the Litâni River did the same just above Tyre. These natural confines of mountain and water in the west helped in the formation of various minor states, as we shall see (2). The whole region just described forms the main part of the famous "Fertile Crescent", carved about the great arid desert and dipping down in the west, into Palestine proper. Such is, in brief and general outline, the nature of the land which forms the stage of our story.

B) The most Recently Established Chronology for Early Western Asia.

If it has been advisable to indicate the geographical cast of this country, it is positively indispensable that chronological indices be given, all the more so since hardly any field of ancient oriental study has proven so elusive and bewildering as this, and all the more so too, since the number of factors dependent upon such indices is, in the present case, extraordinarily great. It is not our purpose here to go into a detailed account of how, upon the latest archaeological finds, together with former astronomical conclusions, previous problems and inconsistencies have been cleared up and various data synchronized, since neither does space permit nor our subject require it. It will be enough if a summary notion of these is given to provide the setting for our own purposes.

As early as forty years ago we were in a quite favorable position regarding Egyptian chronology, at least as far back as the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty shortly after 2000 B. C. since dates could be astronomically ascertained (3). In the Assyro-Babylonian world things were quite different.

(1) For example, one need only hint here at the astoundingly advanced Chalcolithic culture uncovered at Tell Halaf on the northern Khabur. Cf. *Der Tell Halaf* by Max F. von Oppenheim, Leipzig (1931), and most recently, the first volume of the final publication by Hubert Schmidt, *Tell Halaf I: Die prähistorischen Funde (mit einer Einleitung zum Gesamtwerk von Max Freiherr von Oppenheim)*, pp. viii-140, with 114 plates, of which 9 in color, 6 appendices (4 charts and 2 maps), and 148 illustrations of the text, Berlin (1943, appeared in 1944). Unfortunately, only fifty copies of this volume, which was published by de Gruyter, were printed.

(2) E. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 8.

(3) Cf. J. Breasted, *AR*, I, pp. 25-47, especially p. 39, and W. F. Edgerton, "Chronology of the Twelfth Dynasty", *JNES*, I (1942), pp. 307-314.

Here the main materials at our disposal were an Assyrian king-list covering the entire second millennium B. C., a canon of the Babylonian dynasties not passing the seventh century, synchronous lists between the two countries reaching again to the seventh century and, finally, inscriptions which indicated by how many years later Assyrian and Babylonian kings were separated from certain various predecessors. However, as Père de Vaux⁽¹⁾ has justly pointed out, there were difficulties in all four categories. The Assyrian list was in bad condition, the Babylonian canon did not allow for the partly concurrent duration of the first three dynasties of Babylon, the synchronisms were not reliable for the more remote periods, and the later inscriptions were contradictory among themselves.

It is true, the Assyrian scribes counted their years according to regular eponym lists, and give evidence on the whole of very careful reckoning. Yet even so, if we are to indulge at all those human weaknesses to which every copyist and computer is heir, a margin for error must be made. For examples of contradictions in Assyrian records, one may consult Thureau-Dangin's article in *RA*, 34, p. 139. Such reckonings, however, as were strengthened by Egyptian synchronisms gave sure footing as far back as 1370 B. C. (2). E. Weidner and others made excellent attempts to establish a synchronous history of Assyria and Babylonia⁽³⁾. Meanwhile attempts at securing another earlier and fast mooring post were being made. In 1912 Father Kugler⁽⁴⁾ announced the brilliant discovery that line eight of the obverse of K. 160, corresponding to line twenty-one of the obverse of K. 2321 and K. 3032, divinatory tablets now in the British Museum based on risings and settings of the planet Venus, contained the year formula of the eighth year of Ammisaduqa⁽⁵⁾, tenth king of the First Dynasty of Babylon. The first year of his reign, Kugler concluded from comparative discussion of harvest contracts of the code of Hammurabi, was 1977 B. C. Later, in 1922, influenced by Weidner and Ugnad, and granting more authority to Assyrian chronological tradition than to his own previous calendrical calculations, he brought his date down 176 years to 1801 B. C. (6). This would ultimately put back the great Hammurabi, the sixth king of this same dynasty, to approximately 1947-05 B. C. Later, in 1928, J. K. Fotheringham⁽⁷⁾, in collaboration with S. H. Langdon and Carl Schoch, arrived at an intermediary solution with Hammurabi's date fixed at 2077-2025.

(1) R. de Vaux, "Les Patriarches et les découvertes modernes", *RR*, 53 (1946), p. 329.

(2) W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 77, p. 28.

(3) E. Weidner, *AfO*, III, pp. 70 ff.; *ibid.*, IV, pp. 15 ff., 213 ff.; B. Meissner, *KBA*, II, pp. 444 ff.

(4) F. X. Kugler, S. J., *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II, Münster in Westfalen (1912), pp. 257 ff.

(5) S. Langdon and J. K. Fotheringham, *The Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*, London (1928), p. 35.

(6) F. X. Kugler, *Von Moses bis Paulus*, Münster (1922), pp. 497-501.

(7) *Op. cit.* The aim of the work, however, was not looked upon as achieved. Thus O. Neugebauer in *OLZ*, 32 (1929), col. 913 ff., maintained that the tradition regarding the original dates was too uncertain to permit a clear distinction between correct and incorrect ones. Later, in his article, "Chronologie und babylonischer Kalender", *ibid.*, 42 (1939), col. 403 to 414, he pointed out that, in Mesopotamian chronology, it is indispensable to define precisely what is meant by the "average (or mean) first of Nisan". Yet this is impossible if the system of intercalation is not controlled, or if the number of years to which it is applied is not known. As a matter of fact, Fotheringham's results were based on reckoning of the purely fortuitous lengths of reigns in the First Dynasty of Babylon. Had these lengths been different, then the mean values arrived at would have been different also, and so, the reckoning employed gave no inkling of what the true calendar of the period was. It follows that any attempt to reconstruct a period on the basis of Fotheringham's chronology, as Schoch has tried to do for Ur III, is bound to remain uncertain.

About these two latter estimates then, scholars hovered until most recent years ⁽¹⁾ when, like a bombshell, the new discoveries at Mari (modern Tell el-Hariri) on the middle Euphrates revealed that Hammurabi was a contemporary of Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria. The date of the latter is now known approximately from the Khorsabad list of Assyrian kings, found in 1933 by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, in the palace of Sargon III. On page 289 of the first installment of his tripartite publication of these lists, Arno Poebel ⁽²⁾ shows by a simple calculation Shamshi-Adad's date to be $1726/25 + X + Y - 1694/93 + X + Y$ B. C. Since, however, $X + Y$ represent the consecutive reigns of two kings, *Assur-rabi* I, and *Assur-nadin-ahhe* I, which were broken in the original tablet, reigns which Poebel in effect reduces to a period of 0 years, it seems more reasonable and hence preferable in this matter to follow W. F. Albright, who allows twenty years as an approximate sum of these two reigns, thus placing Shamshi-Adad I at 1726 + twenty years, or cir. 1746 B. C. ⁽³⁾. The connection with Mari lay in this that, first of all, letters were discovered there addressed to Yasmah-Adad ⁽⁴⁾ by his father Shamshi-Adad, i. e., Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria, who had placed his son as regent of Mari after conquering its native ruler Yaḥdun-Lim. Secondly, letters ⁽⁵⁾ were found also from Zimri-Lim to Hammurabi, king of Babylon. Zimri-Lim was the son of Yaḥdun-Lim and regained his father's throne at Mari from the Assyrian usurper Yasmah-Adad, upon the latter's death. Zimri-Lim himself was conquered finally by Hammurabi in the thirty-second year of the latter's reign. These latest finds from Mari are definitive. As Thureau-Dangin says, earlier deductions "ne sauraient prévaloir contre les précisions apportées par les documents de Mâri" ⁽⁶⁾.

These findings, too, which put Hammurabi at approximately 1728-1686 find admirable confirmation from two entirely distinct quarters. The first is from a synchronization through Byblos between Mari and Egypt, first recognized by Albright ⁽⁷⁾. A Byblian prince named Yantin-

⁽¹⁾ Cf. for example, T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Chicago (1936), p. 191.

⁽²⁾ Arno Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad", *JNES* (1942), pp. 247-306, 460-492; (1943), pp. 56-90.

⁽³⁾ W. F. Albright, "A Third Revision of the Early Chronology of Western Asia", *BASOR*, 88, pp. 28-33. We may note in passing that E. Weidner, "Die Königsliste aus Chorsabad", *AfO*, 14 (1944), pp. 367-8, although not allowing even a year's time for the two reigns concerned, gives the years 1729-1697 for Shamshi-Adad's reign and promises a detailed discussion of the list later. Previous attempts in recent years to settle Shamshi-Adad's date were based on estimates assumed from the historical annals of the Assyrian kings Shalmaneser I (1272-1243) and Tukulti-ninurta I (c. 1242-1206). Thus Albright put Hammurabi at 1870 B. C. in 1938 (*BASOR*, 69, p. 19), while Thureau-Dangin still claimed such a date too high (cf. *RA*, 36, pp. 26 ff.), and André Parrot still claimed it too low (cf. *Syria*, 19, p. 184). But the Khorsabad list has now brought us to a solution, which at present, seems little likely to admit of further radical change. For reasons into which we need not enter here, the accepted Shamshi-Adad I - Hammurabi synchronism will be little affected by the revision promised by Ignace Gelb (*HS*, Preface, pp. vi-vii).

⁽⁴⁾ Thureau-Dangin, "Iasmah-Adad", *RA*, 34 (1937), pp. 135-139.

⁽⁵⁾ Charles F. Jean, "Hammurabi d'après les lettres inédites de Mari", *RA*, 35 (1938), pp. 107-114.

⁽⁶⁾ Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, p. 139. These new data are most satisfying; even as late as 1931, A. T. Olmstead could write in his *History of Palestine and Syria*, p. 88, "His (Shamshi-Adad I) relation to contemporary powers is a tantalizing mystery".

⁽⁷⁾ W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 77 (1940), p. 27 and, with a more detailed treatment, *ibid.*, 99 (1945), pp. 9-18. R. de Vaux (*op. cit.*, pp. 330-1) does not make use of this argument for some reason or other; he does,

hamu in a Mari document seems to be named also in an abbreviated form Entin both on several scarabs and in an hieroglyphic inscription of Pharaoh Nefer-hotpe I of the Thirteenth Dynasty. This would be roughly between 1740 and 1720, a time that coincides perfectly with our new datings. The second confirmation comes from the archaeology of Upper Mesopotamia. At Alalakh, at Chagar Bazar (1) and Tell Braq, as well as at Tell Billa and Nuzu, there were found levels of the Mitannian (2) ware, i. e., with white designs on a dark background, dated at Nuzu as of the fifteenth century B. C. The next lowest and hence earlier levels at the first four sites yielded ware with black and red geometric designs on a light ground. This is called the Khabur ware (Figs. 1, 2); it consisted of three phases, the earliest of which, from accompanying cuneiform tablets *in situ* at Chagar Bazar, was evidently contemporaneous with Shamshi-Adad I as a *terminus a quo*. Since the whole section was continuous in its levels and could hardly have lasted more than three centuries it again places Shamshi-Adad in the middle eighteenth century B. C. or cir. 1750 (3).

All this converging evidence naturally forced scholars to re-examine their stands on the Venus tablets and so there has been a gradual lowering of dates in the interpretation of the celestial phenomena recorded (4). The new chronological peg of Hammurabi's reign, 1728-1686, when struck into our table of dates, has its repercussions throughout the entire framework of our early history. The First Dynasty of Babylon is therefore fixed at 1831/30 in its inception and at approximately 1530 at its close. If we look backward, the Dynasties of Isin and Larsa may be dated about 1960, Ur III about 2070-1960, the Guti rule about 2190-2065, and the Dynasty

however, employ the one based on the "Khabur" ware, and furthermore adds another based on the objects attributable to the First Dynasty of Babylon, which were found at Ras Shamra (Ugarit) on the Syrian coast and which, from their ceramic context and accompanying cylinder seals, must follow the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty (c. 1989-1776).

(1) Cf. the quotation from M. Mallowan in Thureau-Dangin's "Tablettes hurrites provenant de Mâri", *RA*, 36 (1939), pp. 26 ff.

(2) Hitherto this pottery has been commonly called Hurrian or Nuzu ware; our reasons for introducing the term "Mitannian" will be indicated in Chapter III.

(3) M. B. Rowton in "Mesopotamian Chronology and the Era of Menophres", *Iraq*, VIII (1946), pp. 94-110, comes to the probable conclusion that the Khorsabad list represents eponym periods and not reigns; he suggests a chronology which is seven years lower than that of Poebel. The most important result of this study, if correct, is (to use the author's own words) "that Albright's date for Hammurabi (1728-1686) is almost certainly correct" (*ibid.*, p. 110). For further confirmation of the date of Hammurabi, cf. F. M. Th. Böhl, "King Hammurabi of Babylon in the Setting of His Time", *Meded. d. Kon. Nederl. Akad. v. Wetensch.*, Deel 9, №. 10, Amsterdam (1946), pp. 341-352; yet Böhl inclines to 1704-1662 B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 352).

(4) For latest references cf. Albright, *BASOR*, 88 (1942), p. 30; cf. especially S. Smith and J. Sewell, *Alalakh and Chronology*, London (1940), pp. 25 ff., where Hammurabi's date is made 1792-1750 B.C. A. Ungnad in "Eine neue Grundlage für die altorientalische Chronologie", *AfO*, 13 (1940), pp. 145-6, on the basis of the Mari material, put Hammurabi at 1801-1759 B. C. Later, in his article "Zur Geschichte und Chronologie des zweiten Reiches von Isin", *Orientalia*, XIII (1944), pp. 73-101, especially pp. 83 ff., he approximated more closely S. Smith's position after a re-examination of possible solutions for the Venus tablets. Although Poebel's published discussion of the Khorsabad list was not available to him, still he did not make use of the date given for Shamshi-Adad I by Weidner in his discussion of the reverse of the list in *AfO*, 14 (1944), pp. 362-69. What is most striking of all is that F. Cornelius, "Berossus und die altorientalische Chronologie", *Klio*, XXXV, pp. 1-16, without knowing of the Khorsabad list, put Shamshi-Adad I at 1720-1692 and Hammurabi at 1728-1686! Of course, we now know that Shamshi-Adad I was king before Hammurabi was.

* This chronological table is that offered by W. F. Albright in *BASOR*. 88, p. 32, with suitable modifications for our own purposes.

THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE SECOND MILLENIUM B. C. *

of Accad about 2360-2180 (¹). If we look about at the more contemporaneous events of the second millennium B.C., it becomes at once apparent how great chronological gaps are closed and how the political events themselves become settled in their proper place and station. At this point we can do no better perhaps than to quote the following words of W. F. Albright (²):

The Hyksos expansion under Khayana of the Fifteenth Dynasty falls in the second half of the Seventeenth Century; at that time Babylon, under Abi-eshub, was at one of the lowest points of its military history while Assyria was feeble, without inscriptions, and Hittite expansion under Labarnas and his successors had not yet begun. The Hittite expansion then falls during the Sixteenth Dynasty, when the Hyksos rulers lost most of their power. Aleppo and Babylon were stormed by Mursilis I (³) about the time that Amosis I was pushing into Palestine, towards the end of his reign. Immediately after the death of Mursilis the Hittite Empire collapsed allowing the Egyptians full freedom to exploit their triumph over the Hyksos by the successive conquest of Palestine and Syria".

It is hard to see how the resultant picture of history for these times could be expressed, "selon les grandes lignes", at least, in more clear or concise terms. It is, practically speaking, a lowest possible chronology, which delights no less by the certainty of its foundation than by the harmonization of its interlocking events. For the rest, it was only natural that, having secured the first, the second should follow.

C) The Late Third Millennium B.C.

1. Influence from Sumer.

To have sketched the physical character of the land we are treating and the chronological sequence of the happenings that make up its history, was our first intention. It will now be possible to approach directly the task to which these were but preliminary steps, namely, to determine what should be understood by the phrase Aram Naharaim throughout the second millennium B.C. in terms of geographical boundaries, political history and, as far as can be, of material culture. It may be observed here that these objectives may be attained *pari passu*, although in chapter seven the question of geographical boundaries, in particular, will come more to the fore. To begin our study, then, it will be necessary to turn first to lower Mesopotamia proper, since it was from that quarter that Aram Naharaim was first and most powerfully influenced in the period that concerns us. If we turn to consider the peoples that make for our

(¹) Cf. Albright, *loc. cit.*, p. 32, whence I take these dates.

(²) *Loc. cit.*, p. 31.

(³) As late as 1936, A. Goetze put this date at 1758; the new chronology would now put it at *circa* 1550. As it is, this latter date is classed as one of the main faults of the Khorsabad chronology by Sidney Smith, who in the article "Middle Minoan I-II and Babylonian Chronology", *AJA* (1945), XLIX, pp. 1-24, still adheres to his 1940 solution, putting Hammurabi at 1792-1750 and Shamshi-Adad at 1812-1789. Whatever his objections to the interpretation of the word *tuppu* in the published discussion of the king-list, still his own evidence adduced from Tholos B of Platanos in southern Crete to raise Babylonian chronology cannot be called conclusive.

subject here, the Sumerians must be briefly considered since they so strongly affected the Accad Dynasty (c. 2360-2180 B. C.) and through it other regions beyond Accad. The Sumerians are, so far as we know, the oldest inhabitants of the lower portion of this region (1). Whether they had displaced an earlier, more native people, is still a matter of dispute (2). Were we better informed, perhaps, as to their place of origin, we would be less in the dark as to their ethnological character, for to this day they, as well as their language, remain in this respect somewhat of an unsolved problem. And when, on the other hand, one reflects on the extraordinarily rich culture they passed on to the later world from the point of view of art, of both scientific and religious literature, and of domestic economy, we have the uneasy feeling of dealing with anonymity.

(1) Br. Meissner, *KBA*, pp. 7 ff.; E. Meyer, *GA*, I, 2, pp. 435 ff. H. Frankfort in a lucid presentation, *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem*, Chicago (1932), comes to the same conclusion on the basis of a comparative study of the archaeological evidence, confirmed by anthropological and philological data. The Sumerians then were the settlers of the Obeid period, and the differences noted in the Warka period are due to influences brought in from what he styles the Anatolian cultural province. In regard to our whole discussion, he goes on to say that the Sumerians "belonged originally to a cultural province extending over the Iranian plateau to the very border of the Indus valley" (*op. cit.*, p. 42). Nevertheless, perfect unanimity on this point can hardly be claimed. Anton Moortgat in *Die Entstehung der sumerischen Hochkultur*, Leipzig (1945), regards as distinct Sumerian cultural creations the *ziggurat*, the association of the primitive Mother-Goddess with Tammuz, known as the personification of perishing and reflowering life, and a marked contrast between the naturalistic and the abstract in artistic portrayal. He finds, however, that early Sumerian culture ultimately takes its source more easily from North Mesopotamia than from Iran, inasmuch as temple structure, the representations of the bull motif and the Mother-Goddess, which reflect Halafian practice, and the affinities of a Jemdet Nasr goddess with the middle chalcolithic period, all point to this conclusion. The problem of Sumerian origins is not a simple one and hence, not to be simplified; any light shed on it from any quarter whatsoever is welcome indeed. We may seize this occasion, therefore, to call attention to the work of Heinz Mode, *Indische Frühkulturen und ihre Beziehungen zum Westen*, Basel (1944), pp. XVI-181, 8 plates, of new importance for Mesopotamian origins. His thesis and conclusion are, in brief, that the painted pottery culture (*Buntkeramik*) of North Syria and Mesopotamia was one of the greatest moulding forces of the ancient world, comparable to Egypt and lower Mesopotamia. More in particular, this culture spread through migrations of peoples, especially in the Jemdet Nasr period, finding its most crystallized foci in the Harappa culture (3000-2000 B. C.) of the Indus region, and again in Crete from the Early Minoan I to the Middle Minoan III period, with points of contact in between, e. g. in Susa II (see the chart, *op. cit.*, p. 130) and even reaching down into Egypt. The associations between Harappa and Crete are found in figurines, seals, and pottery designs, the manner of representing various themes such as the Mother-Goddess, the bull, etc., being characterized by spontaneity and movement. These two foci of the painted pottery culture emerged in particular because, being on the periphery of the Fertile Crescent, they were less fused with other elements and could survive the strong assimilatory and absorbing power of the Crescent. The author is commendably cautious in his use of terms, since by *Buntkeramik* he does not commit himself to any particular racial connections (although he admits that anthropological finds point to the Armenoid type as the bearer of this culture). He has pointed out striking parallels between Harappa and Crete which will not be denied; he is even daring in concluding to the existence of mural art in Harappa, of which, however, he admits there is no factual evidence. The book is undoubtedly conceived along lines of broad vision and may go a long way toward explaining the non-Grecian origins of Cretan art. From what has been said there are, perhaps, indications that it may help to reconcile the respective positions of Frankfort and Moortgat regarding the very first homeland of Sumerian culture. On the other hand, it may be observed in general that assumptions are not infrequent throughout the book, and the author seems too predisposed to look for religious interpretations in the ornamental data at hand. At present, it seems too early to make a final pronouncement on this work; increased studies and discoveries will permit its full evaluation in the future.

(2) E. Speiser in his *Mesopotamian Origins* favors the view that a "Japhethite" people, related to the Gutians, Cassites, Hurrians and Elamites, who were neither Semitic, Indo-European nor Sumerian, preceded the latter in lower Mesopotamia until a fairly recent date. This stand is rejected by most scholars.

mous benefactors. Even as early as the Warka period (before 3200 B. C.), we find examples of monumental architecture. Not only are there admirably planned temples with indented recessing⁽¹⁾, but also the well-known *ziggurat* form of temple appears (Fig. 3)⁽²⁾. Attention may also be called to the round-house type of building, as seen in Tepe Gawra⁽³⁾; evidently a distinct epoch in Mesopotamian architecture had been achieved. From the same period there is superb artistic execution on cylinder seals (Figs. 4, 5)⁽⁴⁾, an excellence which diminished, however, in the following Jemdet Nasr period. To the Warka period go back our earliest examples of Mesopotamian writing and in the course of the third millennium the Sumerians collected their past history, preparing king-lists of various dynasties. They have left us a rich heritage of poetic and religious compositions, showing their gods to be endowed with cosmic functions. Of these gods, as well as of words and plants, classified lists were made. The early pattern of Sumerian life was both agricultural and religious; there was a ramified network of canals and the temple was the center of civic and economic administration⁽⁵⁾. The king was called *lugal* literally, "great man" and he acted as priest for the local temple; the *ensi* (or *isakku*) was not a priest-king but was the head of the main temple, a viceroy subject to the king, while the *sangu* was more of a major temple accountant. At first, nevertheless, there seems to have been a primitive democracy⁽⁶⁾ until, with growing danger from the Bedawin and perhaps from other, settled, communities, there arose in any given community a king who sought his power no longer from an assembly but directly from the city-god. With the formation of the city-state the tendency to centralize power grew. Thus Urukagina of Lagash, for example, extended his power northwards to Nippur, and the trend towards empire was evident. It was this same Urukagina who, about the year 2500 B. C., effected what is probably the earliest recorded fiscal reform in history, made in the form of a pact with Ningirsu, the city-god.

One of the outstanding inventions of the Sumerians was the cuneiform script which from the year 3500 B. C. and earlier lasted until the Christian Era, not only for Sumerian but also for a host of other tongues. Especially was this the case for Accadian, the East-Semitic language of the Babylonians and Assyrians by whom the cuneiform script was adopted as an exclusive medium for their speech⁽⁷⁾. We may also note here that hundreds of loan words

(¹) E. Speiser in *BASOR*, 66 (1937), pp. 2 ff.

(²) Sir L. Woolley, *The Ziggurat and Its Surroundings*, London (1935). For the latest study and interpretation of the *ziggurat*, of which more than two dozen are now known, cf. L. H. Vincent, "De la tour de Babel au temple", *RB*, 53 (1946), pp. 403-440.

(³) E. Speiser, "On Some Recent Finds from Tepe Gawra", *BASOR*, 62 (1936), pp. 10-14.

(⁴) H. Frankfort, *CS*, plates I-IV.

(⁵) A. Schneider, *Die Anfänge der Kulturwirtschaft. Die sumerische Tempelstadt*, Essen (1920), pp. 120. Despite limitations, this book is still useful today.

(⁶) T. Jacobsen, "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia", *JNES*, 2 (1943), pp. 159-172.

(⁷) We may not omit mention here of the fact that the newly discovered Ugaritic script of Ras Shamra, though cuneiform, is not syllabic but alphabetic. It should be, furthermore, a most interesting problem to seek out what was the script, if any, of the Accadians before they adopted that of the Sumerians. That they did adopt the latter speaks only too plainly of how far advanced were the Sumerians in the way of exteriorizing their inner cultural achievements, since they were able, as early as 2500 B. C., to provide for others a most adaptable and hence developed medium of expression; cf. J. W. Flight, "The History of Writing in the Near East", *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*, New Haven (1938), pp. 111 ff. Indeed, it has been suggested that the Sumerian script was not without its influence

from Sumerian were taken over into Accadian, in some cases passing on into Hebrew as, e. g., *hēkhal*, "temple", borrowed by the Canaanites before 2500 B. C. Sumerian itself ceased to be a spoken language about 1800 B. C. but continued in liturgical formulation down to Christian times, a sequel which finds a striking parallel later in the case of Latin, as used in the Catholic Church today. Certain it is that by the first half of the third millennium ⁽¹⁾ the Sumerians had made of lower Mesopotamia a ~~land~~ all their own. The early southern Mesopotamian cities, Ur, Eridu, Larsa, Uruk, Shuruppak, Adab, Kish, Eshnunna, etc. ⁽²⁾, were centers of this culture; in northern Mesopotamia, names of rivers and places, too, give evidence of their Sumerian origin, as Tigris, Khabur, Balikh, Barsip, Khalab, etc. Finally, when one considers the extremely varied and precious finds of the Royal Tombs of Ur ⁽³⁾ (c. 2500 B. C.) it is clear that the Sumerians, when they first met the Semites, were anything but empty-handed.

2. The Semites: Period of Naram-Sin.

Despite the fact that Eduard Meyer once maintained ⁽⁴⁾ that the Semites were antecedent to the Sumerians in Babylonia, having settled there in the fifth and fourth millennia B. C., still his grounds are not all-convincing since Semitic influence on early Sumerian culture cannot as yet be proven to have been very substantial. Rather the opposite is the case as we have already hinted and subsequently shall see. True it is that the Semites are known to have been present in Mesopotamia well in the early third millennium B. C. The early king-lists, especially those of Kish and Akshak, record Semitic names, and the Mari excavations have brought to light a group of Semitic kings to be dated as early as 2600 B. C. ⁽⁵⁾. Where these Semites ultimately came from, we dare not here decide. Traditionally, the Semites ⁽⁶⁾ are conceived as having

in forming the alphabet of the west. A. Bea, in a critical study, "Die Entstehung des Alphabets", *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Vol. VI, Città del Vaticano (1946), pp. 1-35, endeavors to further the study of alphabetic origins by widening our horizon far beyond the two poles of Byblos and Sinai. After surveying the pertinent material now at our disposal, he passes beyond Julius Obermann's hypothesis of a North-Semitic alphabet as a common root for Phoenician, Lachis, Ugaritic and Greco-Latin scripts, to envisage an *altwestsemitische Bilderschrift*. This script would have originated before 3000 B. C. in the northeastern delta of the Nile, precisely where the Egyptians would have come to the knowledge of Sumerian writing, in some respects similar to their own (cf. A. Falkenstein, *Archaische Texte aus Uruk*, 1936, p. 65). The Semitic pictorial script would then, in the course of the third millennium B. C., have become more and more linear until in Phoenicia it would have first made the transition into an alphabet, probably in the early second millennium or even before. Out of this evolved the Ugaritic alphabet, using cuneiform signs; to the south the pictorial elements lagged on, as in the Sichem, Lachis and Sinai scripts. These southern scripts were at first affected and then, in the course of the second millennium, fully superseded by the Phoenician alphabet. Certainly, in considering the alphabet, we need to broaden our perspective; for this, the author intends to give us a working hypothesis, nothing more.

⁽¹⁾ A. Goetze, *HCA*, pp. 9 ff.

⁽²⁾ Some of these names, e. g., those ending in *ak*, *uk*, *ab* are typically Sumerian, contrary to Speiser's view (*MO*, ch. 2); cf. the review by W. F. Albright, *JAO*, 51, p. 63.

⁽³⁾ L. Woolley, *The Royal Cemetery*, London (1934).

⁽⁴⁾ *GA*, I, 2, p. 437.

⁽⁵⁾ T. J. Meek, "Mesopotamian Studies", in the *Haverford Symposium*, p. 169; Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, 31, p. 137 ff.

⁽⁶⁾ We are aware that the term "Semitic" should more properly be used in a linguistic sense, embracing namely all those tongues, which, because of certain fundamental characteristics common among them-

wandered from the vast wastes of the Arabian desert (1), ever seeking, as also did the hordes from the northern mountains, to gain a foothold in the fruitful plains of Mesopotamia, where the great rivers meant richer life and sustenance. That such inroads should have been made is not astonishing, for the whole Fertile Crescent was exposed on every side and offered a rich prize to the invader, and for this very reason it has had a much more varied history than Egypt which remained a realm set apart, most vulnerable in the south from Nubia and in the north-west from Libya. Hence it is not at all surprising that at so early a date we should find the Semites so widely diffused throughout Mesopotamia; in fact, our data suggest that the process had already been long in operation. Yet a margin for assimilation must be allowed, and so, one should not see necessarily a racial struggle between Semite and Sumerian, but rather a political victory, in the defeat of Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk in the south, by Sargon, king of northern Accad (2). Some immediate effects of this conquest were felt in the political sphere, the capital of the state being forthwith transferred to northern Accad, and although the kings of Accad may have been deified, still the state was not priestly. The whole period meant a full flowering of centralized power, which, as might be expected, did not confine itself to the east. For, not content with overpowering Elam in the south-east, and Assyria in the north, Sargon stretched out his empire in the west to Asia Minor. The natural objective here was the splendid cedar forest of the Amanus range and silver from Mt. Taurus. The natural course was, as already indicated, along the Euphrates river and Sargon took it, conquering Hit and Mari along the middle Euphrates with their fields rich in corn and fruit, and reached his objectives. From the time of Sargon we have a chronicle, in a late Babylonian copy, as well as two omen texts (3) which tell of his wars in Subartu, a name then used in Babylonia to denote the north, just as Amurrā meant the west and Elam the east, although this whole frame of reference was tilted a bit to the west, as we understand it today. How far west and north the term Subartu extended in these three particular texts we cannot say, but it must have meant at least Upper Mesopotamia. That it did extend to the cedar ranges, which can only mean the Amanus and Lebanon (4), later in the Accad period, is clear from an inscription of Naram-Sin, the grandson of Sargon, a copy of which was found in Ur, and the original of which we can date approximately at 2190 B.C. It reads thus: "Naram-Sin, king of Accad who ruled over all peoples (5), overthrew all Elam, even unto Parahse and the land of Subartu as far as the cedar range". When Sargon died, revolts were naturally to be expected, but his sons

selves, are rightfully called related as in a family group. In the present instance we use the term Semitic, not only in a linguistic sense, but also by extension in an ethnic, or better, anthropological, sense, meaning therefore a dolichocephalic people, with a fine slender nose and thinly drawn lips. This type seems best preserved in the Arab bedawin of today; in the early Assyrian type, there seems to have been an admixture of this with the Armenoid or brachycephalic type.

(1) C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, Einleitung, p. 2; E. Meyer, *GA*, I, 2, p. 379. See, however, on this point, Heinz Mode, *Indische Frühkulturen*, Basel (1944), p. 142, n. 3.

(2) Cf. Thorkild Jacobsen, "The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Mesopotamian History", *JAOS*, 59 (1939), pp. 485-495.

(3) A. Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 41.

(4) A text from Ur tells us that the "cedar range" certainly included the Amanus, for it reads: *a-ma-nam SA. TU "erēni i-ik-mu-ur*, "he subjected the cedar range Amanus"; cf. *RIU*, Nr. 275, Col. II, 1. 25 ff.

Rimush and Manishtusu, and especially his grandson, Naram-Sin, succeeded in re-establishing their hold over his realm so that Upper Mesopotamia, whose relations to Amurrū and Subartu we shall see in the next chapter, is very much affected hereby. As a matter of fact, that the whole of Upper Mesopotamia was deeply influenced by the rule of Accad is proved by the business documents of the period from Chagar Bazar, Tell Braq and Nuzu (¹). This fact makes it easier to believe that Sargon penetrated to Cappadocia, as tradition would have us believe (²). Certainly the absolute data we now possess in the Cappadocian tablets, which reveal the existence of flourishing Assyrian trading posts in eastern Anatolia in the nineteenth century, warrant the deduction that Accadian influence was early in this region. Of the Cappadocian tablets we shall have more to say later.

The Accad period was of great cultural significance, reaching its height under Naram-Sin. In the realm of art one is still struck by the beauty and truth of form by which even the hard diorite is made instinct with life. Such mastery of execution and variety of statuary are rivalled only by the exquisitely finished cylinder seals, which offer, in miniature, religious and mythological scenes alike (Figs. 6, 7) (³). The bronze helmet of Niniveh, dining utensils of Tell Asmar, some twenty-two miles north-east of modern Baghdad, and the victory stele of Naram-Sin (Fig. 8), all attest the high artistic levels reached at this period. The language was predominantly Accadian, certainly in Upper Mesopotamia, even though bilingual records in Sumerian and Accadian were still written in Babylonia. Contrary to the frequent assumption, it is probable there was no deep-going break in the administrative system, really, but only attempts on the part of the king to change it. The so-called bureaucratic state is not very clearly discernible before Ur III. Commerce was launched on a grand scale, while Accad itself became a terminus for sea trade from the Persian Gulf. Incorporated into a widely extended empire, and indeed for geographical reasons alone essential to the latter's very survival, Upper Mesopotamia could not but have shared fully in the advantages of a great commercial and military power, and, what is more, in the richness of its culture, so often the natural fruit of material prosperity. It is interesting in this connection to note that this is borne out most fully by the recent excavations at Mari on the middle Euphrates. After the turn of the second millennium, representations in a temple there can easily trace their genesis to Ur III, the royal palace shows motifs much akin to those of Larsa, the goddess with the spouting vase (Fig. 9) (⁴) finds its counterpart in the Gudea stele (Fig. 10), the coiffure of a tiara reminds us of a winged sphinx of Assur, while Ishtar's most frequent appearance makes it certain she is more than a passing visitor from the country farther east. All of which is in no wise surprising if we reflect that earlier still, far north of Mari at Tell Braq, a palace of Naram-Sin himself was found.

Yet all this brilliance was fated to suffer swift eclipse, even though not for too long. About 2200 B.C. the Gutian hordes swept down from the northern mountains to plunge the land into darkness and desolation. The few inscriptions that remain of this period are in Semitic and

(¹) W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 107.

(²) B. Meissner, *KBA*, p. 28.

(³) H. Frankfort, *CS*, Plates XVII-XXIX.

(⁴) Cf. E. Douglas Van Buren, *The Flowering Vase and the God with Streams*, Berlin (1933), pp. XIV-149, 23 plates.

we know little more than the names of the Gutian kings (1). Yet just such an occurrence was perhaps what was needed to enable the Sumerians to make a last bid for supremacy or, for that matter, even for survival. This they did, reaching a high degree of commercial prosperity under Gudea of Lagash. Sumerian was the language used, but yet the new culture could not escape important modifications from the Accadians and in fact Semitic influences soon came to the fore again. In the third dynasty of Ur (c. 2070-1960) a type of feudal system was introduced, so that almost independent principalities could gradually be formed. This was doubtlessly a situation most favorable for the traditional enemies of southern Mesopotamia, namely the more northern Semites, and Elamites, to break loose and offer effective resistance. However, the fall of Ur was not accomplished overnight. First a rebellion in Babylonia reduced I(b)bi-Sin (c. 1990) to a mere petty ruler, most probably over Ur and its immediate surroundings. The rest of the empire disintegrated, e.g., Nippur and the north falling to Ishbi-Irra of Isin, called the "man of Mari" (2), until in I(b)bi-Sin's twenty-fifth and last year, Elam and its allies, the Sua people, fiercely attacked both Ur and Isin, finally subjugating the former. The eclipse of Sumerian political power had become permanent. The third dynasty of Ur was then followed by a number of smaller states, the most powerful being Isin under this same Ishbi-Irra, who had not succumbed to the Elamites, and Larsa. In the former the kings continued to add to their titles that which the kings of Ur III, and even earlier, had applied to themselves, "King of Sumer and Accad", and the kings of both dynasties rivalled each other in extending their control southward over the city of Ur. It is not necessary here to do anything more than merely sketch the course of political events from this point on to the time of Hammurabi and then dwell on those points which bear most upon our subject. It is not impossible that this constant tutelage of Ur may be connected with the cult of the moon-god, Sin. In a certain inscription we read of a temple being built by Enannatum, "son of Išme-dagan, king of Sumer and Accad", who also functions as high-priest of the moon-god at Ur (3). Presently we shall see further evidence of this same religious character of Ur. Suffice it to say that it was finally Kudur-Mabuk, a ruler with an Elamite name, who conquered Larsa (c. 1771) and installed his own son, Warad-Sin, as regent there. This latter, in turn, showed great predilection for Ur and constituted his sister priestess of Sin (4). He was succeeded by his brother, the mighty

(1) T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Chicago (1939), Table II, facing p. 208.

(2) Thureau-Dangin, "Inscriptions votives de Mari", *RA*, 34 (1937), p. 175. For our statement regarding the fall of Ur III cf. T. Jacobsen in his review of S. N. Kramer's *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur* in *JNES*, 58 (1941), pp. 219 ff.

(3) F. M. T. Böhl in his article, "Die Tochter des Königs Nabonid", *Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, Leiden (1939), p. 153, tries to prove that also in the earlier Sumerian period the "high priest" was always female and usually the sister or (eldest) daughter of the king. Evidence opposing this view has been brought forward by A. Pohl in *Orientalia*, 9 (1940), pp. 124-125. A similar reaction may be seen on the part of E. Douglas Van Buren, "The Sacred Marriage in Early Times in Mesopotamia", *Orientalia*, 13 (1944), pp. 65-66.

(4) This is clear from an inscription of Nabonidus on a clay cylinder first published by A. T. Clay under the title "The Dedication of Nabonidus' Daughter as a Votary", *YOS*, I, New Haven (1915), no. 45, and more recently by Böhl, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-178. Böhl, in accordance with his views, claims that the possibility of concluding to the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of the human consort of the moon-god even in the early dynastic period, in particular as seen in the royal cemeteries of Ur, is by no means excluded (*ibid.*, p. 158); cf. also on this material B. Landsberger in his review of C. J. Gadd's and L. Legrain's *Ur Excavation Texts I. Royal Inscriptions* in *OLZ*, 34 (1931), col. 126-127; finally, E. Douglas Van Buren, *op. cit.*, pp. 67 ff.

Rim-Sin, who, as his name suggests, also favored greatly the city of Ur and who gradually conquered most of southern and central Babylonia. At this period the star of Assur rose brightly, even though not for long, under Ilushumma in the nineteenth century, who could boast that for Ur and other cities, "I have established their liberty" (1). But it was principally from Babylon that the future conquerors were to come, for it was about the year 1830 that Shumu-Abum founded the first Amorite dynasty of Babylon. Of his own or of his immediate successors' imperial aspirations or successes in this direction, we are not apprised in detail. Finally, under Sin-muballit (c. 1748-1729), father of the renowned Hammurabi, nothing short of domination of all lower Mesopotamia is envisaged, and suitable military measures taken. Assyria is not yet a great menace for the south, and Isin itself had been reduced to being a bone of contention between Babylon and Larsa. Against Rim-sin of Larsa some success is won but final and undisputed victory is to come only with "the king and stalwart hero who brings low his enemies", with Hammurabi, who, in his forty-three years of rule, represents the high peak of this First Babylonian Dynasty, the kings of which soon become thoroughly imbued with the advanced Accadian culture, even though themselves West-Semitic in their immediate origins.

3. The Early Amorites.

If not a little space has been given to the consideration of Sumero-Accadian history, such a procedure has not been without purpose. Attention has been called to the far-reaching influence of this culture upon the land between the upper Tigris and Euphrates. Yet, it has been equally clear that if the southern rulers were of greatest influence over these upper regions so also were the latter of utmost importance in giving a definite cast of character to lower Mesopotamia. The dynasty of Accad, we have seen, stood for a largely Semitic culture in the east. It is significant, too, that the names of the Kings of Larsa are, for the most part, Amorite or West-Semitic, and the First Dynasty of Babylon is also justly styled the Dynasty of Amurrû. All of this is not by accident; one cannot have failed to grasp the impression of a steadily irresistible movement of Semitic peoples, sweeping on toward the sea, like the mighty Euphrates itself, at times being checked in its course but finally engulfing all before it. This is most important for our study, for just as we would have to trace the Euphrates back towards Aram Naharaim to find its source, so also must we do literally the very same thing to account for this mighty stream of Semites from the west, the Amorites. Strange as it may seem, there have not been lacking those who have sought elsewhere. In 1926 Theo Bauer proposed a startling theory that would upset the traditional view whereby the non-Accadian Semites, whose names abound so much at the time of the First Babylonian Dynasty and indeed who founded it, were held to be wandering invaders from the west called Amurrû. Rather Bauer maintained that there was no Amorite country west of Babylon in the third millennium, that the territory

(1) E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, Leipzig (1926), pp. 8-9. A fuller treatment of the text is had in Weidner's excellent study, "Ilušumas Zug nach Babyloni-en," *ZA(NF)*, 9 (1936), pp. 114-123. As he notes there, the word *andurâru* "liberty", may mean exemption from taxes by royal privilege or liberation from a foreign oppressor, in the present case, presumably the Elamites. In either of the two meanings, Assyria's domination is patent.

indicated as *KUR MAR.TUKI*, the ideographic equivalent of *Šad Amurri*, is a mountainous country north-east of Babylon, whence the Amurru originally came. Their name soon became a professional appellative, without any further connotation. Hence it would be best to call them East Canaanites, who emerged shortly before the Hammurabi period, but showed no traces before that. The little kingdom, *māt-Amurri* of Lebanon, has nought to do with them (1). This thesis Bauer sought to establish by philological analysis of his so-called East-Canaanite names, but also with a surprisingly short historical study, totally disproportionate to the radical conclusions it was supposed to support. Such a position was met with strong opposition by Albright (2), H. Bauer, Dhorme and others. P. Dhorme, in particular, took Theo Bauer's work as a *point de départ* for a complete study (3) of the Amorite question and showed that a detailed examination of the onomastic material from the period indicated cannot but lead one to conclude that the language in question is demonstrably West-Semitic, being particularly close to Arabic (Sabaeans) and Canaanite. This is evident from their theophorous nature such as *Ba-ah-li-AN* — בָּאָהָלִין — "El is my lord", or *Ia-am-ši-AN* — יָמָשִׁיאָל — "May El...." (4) and especially from the presence of such typically western deities as Dagan, Hadad and Anath. In this connection it is important to point out that the god *Muluk*, although mentioned in Sumerian texts of the Ur III period, was nevertheless object of a cult imported from the western Semites (5). This cult was practiced at Mari about 1800 B. C. (6) and the name is attested as *Malik* by Accadian texts of the third millennium B. C. The name *Adad-milki*, found in late Assyrian documents from Tell Halaf, goes back to an older West-Semitic form *Hadad-malik* (7). The forms of countless theophorous hypocoristica are typically West-Semitic such as *A-du-nu* (from Adun-X): אָדָן — "lord", *Ia-ku-nu-um* (from Yakun-Y), "May Y be established", etc. Also, since we now know that in the Canaanite dialects the case endings were dropped roughly about the same period that the *h* and the *l*, the *c* and the *g* respectively fell together, i. e., about the thirteenth century B. C., we should not be at all surprised, first, to find the mimation in the material under consideration, and second, to find that cuneiform *h* should correspond in the other Semitic tongues not only to *n* and *y* and *š*, as Th. Bauer equated them, but to *h* and *g* as well. The new Ras Shamra language shows conclusively that the two latter consonants existed in West-Semitic as late as the early fourteenth century (8). Thus Bauer could have profited by a much

(1) Theo Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, Leipzig (1926), pp. 87 ff.; P. Dhorme, "Les Amorhéens", *RB*, 37 (1928), p. 64.

(2) Cf. the reviews of Bauer's work by Albright in *AfO*, 3 (1926), p. 124, by M. Noth, *OLZ*, 11 (1927), col. 945 ff. and by Zimmern, *ZA (NF)*, III, p. 141. Consult also J. Lewy, *ZA*, XXXVIII (1929), pp. 243 ff. and T. Jacobsen, *OIC*, 13 (1932), p. 28, n. 1.

(3) P. Dhorme, *loc. cit.*, pp. 63 ff., 161 ff.; 39 (1930), pp. 161 ff.; 40 (1931), pp. 161 ff.

(4) Dhorme does not venture a meaning for this name. Perhaps "May El find (attain to, or detect)" may be suggested from the verb *תִּשְׁאַל*. The first meaning is preferable for it can easily be a name of good omen; cf. Hosea 9:10 "As grapes in the desert I found Israel," פָּנָכִים נִפְדָּרְפָּר צָאַת יִשְׂרָאֵל. Other examples are in Deut. 32:10; Gen. 16:7; Ps. 89:21.

(5) N. Schneider, "Melchom, das Scheusal der Ammoniter," *Biblica*, 18 (1937), p. 343.

(6) G. Dossin, *RA*, 35, p. 178.

(7) A. Pohl, *Biblica*, 22 (1941), p. 35; W. F. Albright, *ARI*, p. 163, who also compares the name in formation to the Mari *Ilum-muluk* or *Ilum-malik*; cp. also the name *Habdu-Malik* in a letter from Mari published by C.-F. Jean, "Lettres de Mari", *RA*, 39 (1942-44), p. 80.

(8) Just when and how the *c* and the *g* fell together will most likely remain unknown. To open up perspective, however, one may suspect that it happened thus. In the Keret legend, 1. 65, from Ras

broader field in establishing his equations. With regard to names of present verb forms, such as *israh* (עִירָה), although the *i* had largely predominated over *ia*, which classical Arabic never lost (*yaktubu*), still many Amorite names retained the *ia* as in the case of *Ia-as-ma-ah-* (*ilu*) *Da-gan* or דָּגָן. Dhorme has also shown the prevalence of this *ia* form in Northwest-Semitic by citing forms such as *ia-am-lik* (qu'il regne) and *ia-az-ku-ur* (qu'il songe) besides many others from the Amarna letters (¹). There is no point in repeating his excellent material here, rather it is even more gratifying to add some new evidence, which was not available at the time of his writing. The first source is found in the proper names which occur in the Mari documents (eighteenth century B.C.) to which we have already referred, and which we shall treat in detail later. Here we find the names of *Yahdun-Lim* and *Yagid-Lim*, kings of Mari, *Yantin-hamu* of Byblos and countless other names such as *Yanzibum*, *Yansim-El*, *Yatar-salim*, *Yakkim-Adad*, *Yanzib-Dagan*, *Yasim-Dagan*, *Yasim-sumū*, *Yarim-Lim*, *Yarkab-Adad*, etc. The second source is Ras Shamra again where we are shown the presence of the *a* vowel in the imperfect of the Canaanite verb. This is not always the case, to be sure, but only as the Barth-Ginsberg law will permit (²). The following examples will be sufficient to illustrate what we mean; in Ras Shamra we read:

A col. II, line 14: *t'aršn . l Btl . nt* "Dost thou desire, O virgin Anat"?

A col. II, line 15: *w'aṣd . kl/ṣr* "and I shall hunt every hill..."

V AB — C, line 11: *'al'iy . qrdm . qryy* "I prevail over the heroes..."

V AB — C, line 18: *'it . ly . w . argmk* "I have (a secret) and I shall tell thee".

V AB — C, line 23: *'abn . brq* "Let me create lightning..."

Shamra, we have the word *'rb*, which Goetze suggests is a dissimilation from *grb*, since the *g* did exist in Ras Shamra, and the context calls for the verb *grb*. Such a phenomenon may easily have been a foothold for the permanence of such a change; by analogy then the *g*, which is nothing but the unvoiced *g*, fell together with the *h*, which is nothing but the unvoiced *h*. In other words the respective changes involve a shift in place but not in character of the consonants, e. g. the *g*, a velar sonant fricative, becomes a laryngeal sonant fricative. But further detailed evidence must be awaited.

(¹) *Ibid.*, 37, p. 163; Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe*, Leipzig, (1909), p. 49.

(²) The Barth-Ginsberg law, which operates in Northwest Semitic, especially in Ugaritic, may be formulated as follows: in the present tenses when the second syllable has an *a* vowel, the preformative syllable, by dissimilation, has an *i* vowel, e. g., in the Baal Epic, I AB, col. III, line 8, *w'id . khy . 'al'iyin* [B'l], which we may vocalize *wa 'ida'u . ki hay . 'Al'eyn* [Ba'al], "and I know that Aleyn [Baal] lives"; but if the second syllable has not an *a* vowel, then the preformative syllable has it, as in the tale of the goddess Anat, VAB - C, line 23, *'abn . brq . dl . td' . šmm* vocalized as *'abni . barqa . dila . tida'u . šamēma*, "let me create lightning that the heavens may know..." Without going into further detail, we may say that, beside the *Qal*, this law also operates in the *Nif'al* (in a closed syllable) and in the *Ift'e'al* conjugations. What determines initially the vowel of the second syllable is not always easy to specify. Presumably the active or stative nature of the verb may come into play here or again the presence of gutturals in the verb stems. Arabic shows the presence of three vowels occurring in the present, e. g., *yaktubu*, *yaṣrabu* and *yargi'u*, the reasons for which cannot always be traced. Note that, although Barth in *ZDMG*, 48 (1894), pp. 4-6, showed how this law operated in Hebrew for verbs of *mediae Wāw* and *primae gutturalis* (except *Aleph*), still the form of *primae Yōdh*, *yēlēd*, reflects directly the older *yilid* - but contrast the classical Arabic *yalidu!* The Barth-Ginsberg law, it is true, is not free of all opposition. J. Friedrich in his article, "Kleinigkeiten zur ugaritischen Grammatik", *Orientalia*, 12 (1943), pp. 20 ff., would explain the Ugaritic form *yihd* (*sic*, A V 1. Dan. II 1, 35) as derived from an original *yiqtulu* pattern, and so claims that the law needs revision for its valid application to primitive West-Semitic, if this pattern is to be added. Since in any case, he admits at the outset the form *yagtulu* also, his contention does not impair our present argumentation.

These cases are indubitable, because the *alephs* in question supply the vowel *a* of the *aleph* and not the two other values possible in Ras Shamra, *i* and *u*. Hence, although the Ras Shamra alphabet is otherwise a cuneiform consonantal one, this happy exception of the vocalic *aleph* gives absolute assurance in the present instance. This further confirms the contention that the *ia* form of the verb is perfectly good West-Semitic, and the upshot of all these considerations is that the names are perfectly suited to Semitic peoples wandering about in Syria and Upper Mesopotamia in the late third millennium B.C. It was in any case rash to have expected otherwise. It is probable they had much to do with the fall of Ur III and from the times of Sargon, Naram-Sin and Gudea, Amurru is the name of the west among the Babylonians. The *sir-gal* stone, a fine white marble, is brought "from *Ti-da-num*, a mountain of Amurru (MAR.TU)" by Gudea. This is a mount of the upper sea, which to the ancients meant the Mediterranean⁽¹⁾ and so Amurru had to be the west. In a series of Babylonian religious and astronomical texts which Ungnad has discussed, the sum of his results is that *Amurru* always represents the west, no matter what fluctuations there may be regarding other countries as symbols of compass directions⁽²⁾. J. Lewy⁽³⁾ has shown from a study of place-names and of gods who figure in the Cappadocian tablets already referred to (cf. pp. 16, 22 ff.), not to mention linguistic details⁽⁴⁾, that the language in question was very close to that of the Amorites, so that at an early date they must have penetrated that far west. In the east, as noted, they had penetrated so deeply that between the years 2100 and 1800 nearly all the states of lower Mesopotamia had passed under Amorite rule⁽⁵⁾.

Assur was held by Amorite chieftains after about 1800 and the fact that Kudur-Mabuk of Elam (c. 1770) was styled *a d - d a KUR m a r - t u k i* "leader of Martu" shows, as is only logical in light of the evidence presented, how far east was the extent of their diffusion rather than the point of their origin. Hence we are justified in conceiving them as pressing out from the desert upon the fringes of civilization, occupying cities and states, rapidly assimilating themselves to Accadian culture in the east in everything short of changing their titles, and in the west establishing their own kingdom, especially along the Euphrates valley. In the next chapter we shall give an example of just how mighty they could be, when we dwell on the kingdom of Mari. At the moment it is most reasonable to suggest that it was precisely the domination of the Amorites over this region which caused the early Assyrians to find a more northerly route across modern Kurdistan to the west, and almost by the same token to fix their trading center there not so much in the region of Lebanon but farther north in Cappadocia.

We are not to consider it as anything new, therefore, when later Assyrian conquerors set off at times upon their campaigns of conquest by first crossing the Tigris northward into the region of Nairu and working then gradually down towards the Euphrates⁽⁶⁾. It was a path their predecessors had well beaten at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. and earlier.

⁽¹⁾ P. Dhorme, *RB*, 37, p. 173; Thureau-Dangin, *SAK*, p. 70.

⁽²⁾ Cf. his summary on p. 77 of *Subartu*.

⁽³⁾ J. Lewy, "Zur Amoriterfrage", *ZA* (1929), pp. 242 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ For example, the words *kullum* for all, *kumrum* for priest, *bitnum* for daughter, found in these texts, give evidence of their West-Semitic contacts.

⁽⁵⁾ W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 109.

⁽⁶⁾ For example, *Assur-násir-apli* II (884-859) in *ARAB*, I, p. 469.

CHAPTER III.

THE EARLY SECOND MILLENNIUM.

A) The Cappadocian Tablets. An Amorite Power at Mari.

The Cappadocian tablets, consisting of more than three thousand business letters and contracts, of which over half are published thus far, date from the nineteenth century B. C. and give ample testimony of the intense activity of the Assyrians with their far-flung trading posts in eastern Anatolia. In addition to what we have observed above (p. 21), the language of these texts is characteristically Old Assyrian in phonology and morphology. Personal name, names of deities, the system of *limu* dating and the names of the months show that these colonists were Assyrians rather than Amorites (¹). These cuneiform tablets (Fig. 11), which cover a range of some two hundred years, are certainly contemporaneous with Sargon I (cir. 1840-1800) of Assyria and his son Puzur-Assur. This is quite as expected for it was then that Assyria was most independent of Ur, and the latter is not even mentioned (²), a thing most surprising if the records went back to the time of Ur III. The colonists were most probably without political power in Asia Minor, having their *kārum* or settlement outside the larger native town. One of their items of trade was metals for which Cilicia and Cappadocia were famous and early exploited. Taxes on sales were imposed, loans and receipts registered and the whole relationship was one purely of business. Pack asses provided the means of conveyance, and the names of Harran, Barga, Eluhat and Urshu which occur show their route back and forth to Assyria touching the north of Naharaim. On the other hand, it is very questionable whether we can see in place-names of Upper Mesopotamia the cult of local deities or of Tiamat (the ocean deep), of Ana(h), or of Shahar (the dawn) and other typical West-Semitic gods (³). In general, however, we are in a quite favorable position to form an estimate as to the ethnic composition of Naharaim at the close of the third millennium because of these texts as well as others. Yet most

(¹) Fortunately we need not digress here to treat the vexed problem of Assyrian origins. Suffice it to say that, in the writer's opinion, the suggestion of Sidney Smith (*EHA*, pp. 112 ff.), that they were originally of mixed racial origins, i. e., a non-Semitic people from the Khabur and Balikh regions who merged with Semites and adopted the Accadian tongue, is confirmed by this that they appear racially different from the Semites (cf. p. 14, note 6), and in the early period of their history show their power in the northwest, as in Cappadocia, while later (c. 1750), many aspects of life at Chagar Bazar show unmistakable Assyrian influence (cf. below p. 277).

(²) A. Goetze, "Kleinasien", *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*. III, 1, *HA* (1933), pp. 66 ff.; I. Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity*, *OIP*, XXVII (1935), Introduction; also *HS*, p. 60.

(³) J. Lewy, "Les textes paléo-assyriens et l'Ancien Testament", *RHR*, 110, pp. 41 ff.

abruptly the Cappadocian tablets break off in the early eighteenth century B. C. Regarding the character of the Amorites, it was inevitable that their semi-nomadic life should make them appear wild and barbarous in the eyes of sedentary folk, as is clear from a Sumerian hymn to the god of the west. Here it is said of the Amorite: "The weapon (is his) companion... Who knows no submission, who eats uncooked flesh, who has no house in his life-time, who does not bury his dead companion" (1).

We now know especially from the Ras Shamra vocabulary and morphology of some five centuries later that the Northwest-Semitic dialects, apart from individual words, must have stood in amazingly close relationship, so that the language of the Patriarchs was surely much more like that of the Amorites than like that of their own biblical descendants, let us say, of the United Kingdom. Ugaritic, a Canaanite dialect of West-Semitic, still preserved in the fifteenth century B. C. all the consonants of the Arabic alphabet; it had not as yet suffered the shift of primitive Semitic long *ā* to *ā*, a phenomenon which had already taken place in the very earliest books of the Bible. It is now common knowledge that language as it marches down the ages tends to simplify itself, not become more complex. If then Ras Shamra retained so much of proto-Semitic character, what must we say of the West-Semitic group several centuries before and hence of the latter's similarity to East-Semitic tongues? We are, of course, in the present discussion, pre-scinding from those disturbances in East-Semitic which came from outside influences, such as Sumerian, and thus lessened by just that much its kinship with West-Semitic (2).

An Amorite Power at Mari.

Before we pass on to consider what other elements, whether ethnic or political, helped to fashion northern Mesopotamia, it will be best to consider the heights to which Amorite power could rise. Only within the last twelve years have we come to gain more detailed knowledge of an Amorite dynasty flourishing at Mari on the middle Euphrates, some forty-five miles south-east of its confluence with the Khabur, in such proportions that our knowledge of Naharaim is completely revolutionized thereby. Since 1936 the reports of six successive campaigns on this site

(1) E. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, I, Philadelphia (1924), p. 24, where a translation and transliteration of this hymn, called "An 'Amorite' Creation Myth", may be found. The text itself was published later by Chiera in *Sumerian Epics and Myths*, Chicago (1934), no. 58, rev. col. IV, 11. 26-29. In text no. 112, obv. col. II, 1. 6 (*op. cit.*), we read also that the Amorite "does not know a house, does not (know) a city", *m a r - t u 6 n u - z u u r u KI n u - z u*. In this connection confer the reference to the Amorite in the Lugalbanda epic, *op. cit.*, text no. 1, rev., col. V, 1. 11 (page 6).

(2) For example, one may cite the fate of the Semitic gutturals, whereby the proto-Semitic words *ra'-sum*, *halaka*, *hadatum*, *garaba*, to mention but a few, appear in Accadian as *rēšu*, *aliku*, *edešu*, *erēbu* under the influence of Sumerian or other factors at present not discernible. All laryngeals and gutturals except *h* were lost; for an explanation of how neighboring vowels are affected in Accadian in connection with the loss of these gutturals, cf. F. R. Blake, "Studies in Semitic Grammar, III", *JAOS*, 65 (1945), pp. 111 ff. It is only just to call attention at this point, however, to J. Friedrich's remark in *Orientalia*, 12 (1943), p. 19, "Über die Vorgeschichte von akkadiisch *rēšu* kann man verschiedener Meinung sein". We cite this *à propos* of his position that the Arabic *ra'su*, the Aramaic *rēš* and the Hebrew *rōš* go back to three proto-Semitic forms, **ra'-su*, **ri'-su*, and **ru'-su* respectively. Of course, even if the Accadian word were based, as Aramaic, on **ri'-su* (and this, too, would have to be proved against Brockelmann's view in his *Syrische Grammatik*, § 68, Anm. 1), still the influence of the gutturals on neighboring vowels is clearly discernible in Accadian.

by M. André Parrot (1), director of the excavations, reveal the heart of this empire, the modern Tell el-Hariri (2), a ruin which has saved for us the vestiges of an advanced people, whose power and importance reached back into early dynastic times. Some indication of its very early history has been given above (3). Of the three cities uncovered by M. Parrot, A, dating to the end of the second millennium, B; contemporary with Ur III, and C, which was pre-Sargonid, city B was destroyed, in part twice, by Hammurabi of Babylonia. Regarding this period that interests us at present, perhaps the most outstanding architectural remain is the royal palace (Fig. 12) (4), covering more than fifteen acres and provided with countless store chambers, archives, school-rooms, tribunes, princely quarters and magnificent throne rooms in which latter mural designs, representing sacrificial scenes, the investiture of the king (Fig. 13) and other decorative themes, give evidence of many new art motifs (5). One must confess that in this respect Mari had improved upon older Sumerian and even Accadian models. Perhaps this was due to a flowering in art born of a fusion of many forces, a thing easily imaginable in Upper Mesopotamia and doubtless verified in the pottery of Mari, where ceramic art appears to be a blending of Sumero-Accadian and Syrian techniques (6). It is only natural to think that so imposing an edifice (7), whose mastery of execution, even to the least detail, argues consummate architectural skill, was a sign of how great must have been the realm controlled from there. Nor are we deceived in thinking this. Of the more than 20,000 records written in classical Old Babylonian which have been unearthed to date from the Mari archives (8), some 15,000 are contracts and varied records, including divinatory texts, while the remaining 5000 constitute personal correspondence of the

(1) For the preliminary but very useful reports by André Parrot and Georges Dossin, cf. the series of *Syria*, nos. 16 to 21; for initial treatment of the Mari archives in particular by Georges Dossin, Charles-F. Jean and Thureau-Dangin, cf. *RA*, nos. 33 to 39; for growing evaluation of the finds in a political sense and especially for their value in reconstructing chronology by W. F. Albright, cf. *BASOR*, nos. 67, 77, 78, 81 and 88; also cf. *Mari, une ville perdue* by André Parrot, Paris (1936).

(2) Identification first definitely proposed as the site of ancient Mari by Albright, *AfO*, VII, p. 166.

(3) Cf. pp. 15, 16 ff.

(4) *Syria*, 17 (1936), pp. 14 ff.

(5) *Op. cit.*, 18 (1937), pp. 326 ff.

(6) *Op. cit.*, 17 (1936), p. 27.

(7) So wonderful was this palace that Hammurabi of Aleppo writes to Zimri-Lim of the desire of the son of the king of Ugarit to visit Mari and its palace.

(8) The actual publication of the texts has begun with the appearance of two volumes: G. Dossin, "Archives royales de Mari. I. Lettres", *TC*, XXII, Paris (1946), 159 plates; C.-F. Jean, "Archives royales de Mari. II. Lettres", *TC*, XXIII, Paris (1941), 149 plates. Volume I of the archives contains 139 letters, the correspondence of Shamshi-Adad I with Yasmah-Adad, of Yasmah-Adad with his father and then letters of Ishme-Dagan to Yasmah-Adad. Volume II of the archives contains 141 letters, some of Ishme-Dagan to Yasmah-Adad as well as correspondence of Zimri-Lim. Apart from references already given in these pages regarding treatment of these archives, we may call special attention to the transcription and translation of seventeen letters by C.-F. Jean in "Lettres de Mari", *RA*, 39 (1942-44), pp. 63-82. Similar treatment may also be found in the following additions: G. Dossin, "Une mention de Hattusa dans une lettre de Mari" (with text), *RHA*, 35 (1939), pp. 70-76; G. Dossin, "Un cas d'ordalie par le dieu Fleuve d'après une lettre de Mari", *Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, Leiden (1939), pp. 112-118 (with text); F. Thureau-Dangin, "Sur des étiquettes de paniers à tablettes provenant de Mâri", *ibid.* pp. 119-120; C.-F. Jean, "Contenu général des 'Lettres de Mari'", *RÉS* (1941), pp. 77-132; "Autres lettres de Mari", *ibid.* (1942-1945), pp. 8-32; F. Thureau-Dangin, "Le terme *šipum* dans les lettres de Mâri", *Orientalia*, 12 (1943), pp. 110-112.

king of Mari or his deputies with kings and vassals all the way from Elam to Carchemish and Aleppo, and show that Mari was at this time the most powerful state in Mesopotamia. Of the Mari kings we know the following: Idi-ilum, Ilum-ishar, the *ışakku* of Mari, who was followed by Ishma-Dagan and Ishṭup-Ilum. This latter was a contemporary of the First Babylonian Dynasty and, to judge from his statue, a man both powerful and cruel. Then came Niwar-Mer, Agish-Bilgi⁽¹⁾ and Yagid-Lim, the last of these three kings being succeeded by Yahdun-Lim, who claimed he had conquered seven kings and fortified Mari. It was only after the reign of the Assyrian usurper Yasmah-Adad, whom his father Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria had placed on the throne in Mari, that Zimri-Lim, the contemporary of Hammurabi, was able to regain his hereditary rule there. If we look at the political scene, it reflects very much a tussle in the ancient Near East to maintain a balance of power. Assur was still strong and Hammurabi had not as yet succeeded in subduing Rim-Sin of Larsa. Little wonder then if we read of a mutually defensive alliance between Hammurabi and Zimri-Lim, whereby they supplied each other with military aid when needed⁽²⁾. In like manner, minor vassals of Zimri-Lim looked for similar help from him or through him from Hammurabi. As was to be expected, the weight of Zimri-Lim's power lay to the west and so the prospect that now opens up for reconstructing from his correspondence the topography, linguistic character and political history of Upper Mesopotamia in the early second millennium is almost more than one could have hoped for. The names of local princes, Ibal-pi-el of Eshnunna, Asditakim of Harran, Aplahanda and Yatar-ami of Carchemish, Yarim-Lim and Hammurabi⁽³⁾ of Halab (Aleppo), Amut-pi-el and Ishi-Adad of Qaṭna, Yantin-Hamu of Byblos and others crop up at every turn⁽⁴⁾. Place names also occur, some already well known such as Hit (Tut-tul!), Khana ('Anah), Arrapha, Ekallāti, Yamhad (region of Aleppo), and others either unheard of or at least little known or not precisely located, such as the land of Khashshi near Zendjirli, Ilanzura presumably between Carchemish and Harran, and Nahur (biblical Nahor) near Harran⁽⁵⁾. Ugarit is mentioned six times in the Mari correspondence and, in fact, more than two hundred names of towns and regions occur from the Harran region to Assyria. The letters also reveal constant strife between the sedentary and nomadic peoples. Such vast epistolary exchange necessarily connoted very advanced commercial relations. Business documents carry us all the way from Alašu (Cyprus) and Kaptara (Crete) to Babylon and Susa, treating of the trade in metals, wood, wines and slaves. The names of more than thirty kings and their capitals are mentioned as trade correspondents and the naming of skin-bottles (*nádátum*) suggests there was another

⁽¹⁾ The names of Idi-ilum, Ishma-Dagan, Niwar-Mer, and Agish-Bilgi are known from the latest reports in *Syria*, 21, pp. 1 ff.

⁽²⁾ Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, 33 (1936), p. 176, where Hammurabi sends Zimri-Lim troops for war in Subartu and where the latter dates a year "when Zimri-Lim went to the aid of Babylon". For a stimulating and comprehensive study of Mesopotamian history at this time, especially in the light of most recent sources, see F. M. Th. Böhl's work, "King Hammurabi in the Setting of his Time", *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, Deel 9, No. 10, pp. 341-368, Amsterdam (1946).

⁽³⁾ Although not the great Hammurabi of Babylonia, this occurrence of the name shows that the name was not uncommon at this time, even among rulers, since another prince of Kurda, perhaps a vassal of Zimri-Lim, bears the same name; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, 35 (1938), pp. 108 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ George Dossin, "Benjamites dans les textes de Mari", *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, t. II, p. 995.

⁽⁵⁾ W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 78, p. 29.

trade route from Mari to Qatna via Sukhneh and Palmyra across the desert besides the longer route via Aleppo. Nor was this trade only an affair of puppet kings. Shamshi-Adad I of Assyria in a letter to his son, Yasmah-Adad of Mari, wherein he tells him of plans for the latter's marriage with a princess of Qatna, adds "bît Ma-ri^{ki} šu-ma-am i-šu ù bît Qa-tá-nim^{ki} šu-ma-am i-šu" "the house of Mari is famous and the house of Qatna (also) is famous" (1)!

We have just hinted at the constant fighting and rivalry between the neighbors of Mari. Some of Zimri-Lim's enemies are the Turukku from east of the Tigris, the Numkhu of Mesopotamia, and those ubiquitous soldiers of fortune, the *hapiru* (*khapiru*). Indeed, Zimri-Lim is not safe from one of the more powerful desert tribes, the *banû^{ki} ia-mi-na* or Benjamites (2), who, like the Rabbayu people, stir up the leaders in the Harran region, threaten and raid the country round about, refuse tribute to Mari, and give cause to fear that by uniting with Eshnunna they may overthrow it. Finally, however, they are quelled, and Zimri-Lim attributes the success of his arms to Dagan and Iturmer, the gods of Mari.

Regarding certain features of external political and social life, it is most interesting to find in Mari one of the earliest known references to chariotry. Sîdqu-Lanasi, an envoy of Zimri-Lim, writes to him "sîsû piṣûtum ša *narkabtim / ú-ul i-ba-aš-šu-u", "there are no white horses for chariots" (3). Yet it took some generations more to bring in chariotry as a widespread means of travel or warfare. More than once a treaty is ratified by the slaying of an ass: *imér hayari qa-ta-lu(m)*. Thus the *sugaqu* people and the Benjamites, *imér ha-a-ri iq-tu-lu*: "have made an alliance". Their leader is invariably called a *dâridum* (4), a word which seems identical with the name of the great king and poet in later Israel. When public security was threatened, either to rally to arms or for any other urgent notice, an alarm was given far and wide by lighting fire signals on heights as the expression *išâtam našûm* or *diparam našûm* (5) informs us and it seems that the entire Tigris and Euphrates valleys were linked by such relaying signal stations. Obviously, the situation in any given crisis would be rendered extremely precarious, if the chain of transmission were once broken.

Undoubtedly Mari was a powerful, well-organized state dominating the whole upper Euphrates valley. Nor were its people culturally impoverished— on the contrary, written copies show that they still enjoyed works of Babylonian literature, such as the legends of Sargon and Naram-Sin (6). Not only historical, but also some religious texts were found, and of the latter there are six composed in Hurrian. Owing presumably to its position at the crossroads of commerce in the ancient world, Mari could hardly have avoided becoming one of the great centers of religious syncretism in the second millennium B. C. More than twenty-six gods from far and near were incorporated into its pantheon. Temples were found dedicated to Nin-egal, Dagan, Shamash, Sin, Adad, Nergal, and Ishtar. Ethnically speaking, Mari was for the most part quite patently West-Semitic or Amorite.

(1) G. Dossin, *RA*, 36 (1939), p. 54. The text itself is found in *TC*, XXII, no. 77, 11. 9-10.

(2) G. Dossin, "Benjamites dans les textes de Mari", *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, pp. 981-996.

(3) G. Dossin, *RA*, 35 (1938), p. 120.

(4) *Idem*, *Syria*, 19 (1938), pp. 109-110. Albright reads the name as *dawidûm*.

(5) *Idem*, *RA*, 35 (1938), pp. 175 ff.

(6) G. Dossin, *Syria*, 20 (1939), pp. 99 ff.

B) Alalakh and Chagar Bazar. The Patriarchal Age.

If we turn our eyes farther westward at this same period, the tablets discovered in northern Syria at Tell 'Aṭshāna, the ancient Alalakh (¹), offer rich promise. Already we know that it was ruled by a certain Hammurabi, probably the Hammurabi of Aleppo whom we have already met in the Mari texts. There were already Hurrian elements in the otherwise Amorite population and a Hurrian calendar was used, if one is to judge by the month names. Its levels VII and VI (c. 1800-1600) offer the so-called Khabur ware, showing strong contacts with the east, although influence from Egypt is not wanting.

Still another valuable source of information for recovering history at this point is found in the preliminary reports of the uncovering of tells in the northern Khabur region, at Tell Germayir, Arbit and especially at Tell Chagar Bazar. At the latter site, of the four levels studied, Levels 2 and 3 cover the long period 2900-2300 B. C., and Level 1 roughly 1900-1600 B. C., as characterized by Mr. Mallowan (²), although this last is perhaps better dated about 1850-1650 B. C., and so will obviously form the object of our present discussion. Its ceramic culture is characteristic of the whole Khabur region: the pottery is of a homogeneous type showing rectilinear designs in painting (Figs. 1, 2). It is found particularly from Tell Halâf to Nisibis and similar models appear in lesser quantity at Billa, Gawra and Nineveh, at Carchemish, Hammam and Hama. Only one example is found in Nuzu (³). Tell Chagar Bazar seems to have been an agricultural center, influenced mainly from Assyria, since houses of small size with arch and barrel vault are like those of Assyria, the Assyrian *limu* system of dating and the *imēru* measure of weight prevail, and its calendar is quite distinct from that of Mari or Hana to the south. In fact, however, at one period, Tell Chagar Bazar was ruled by Yasmah-Adad of Mari (c. 1750) as certain tablets indicate. Apart from its rich agricultural life, Chagar Bazar enjoyed a sizable metal trade with Anatolia, being near the northern overland route to the west already known to us from the Cappadocian tablets. The gold and metals found in Level 1 demonstrate no little degree of prosperity while pins, daggers, armor and metal moulds are witness to native skill. While tablets from Braq are practically of no consequence in number or content, some ninety tablets (⁴) found at Chagar Bazar, though of local importance, consisting of records of food allowances and livestock in the main, reveal nevertheless much concerning the geography, religion and racial complexion of the population. Some unimportant localities are mentioned, others such as Kahat and Yamhad show points of contact with Nisibis and Aleppo respectively while others again, such as Hana, Rapiqu, Habâ, Abîl, Akšak and Arrapha point southward and eastward towards Assyria. At purification feasts, offerings of food and drink were made,

(¹) Sidney Smith, "A Preliminary Account of the tablets from Atchana", *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX (1939), pp. 38-48.

(²) M. E. L. Mallowan, "The Excavations at Tell Chagar Bazar and an Archaeological Survey of the Khabur Region", *Iraq*, IV (1937), pp. 91-178; "Excavations at Braq and Chagar Bazar", *ibid.*, IX (1947), pp. 1-87, pls. I - LXXXIII.

(³) Cf. R. F. Starr, *Nuzi*, 2, Cambridge (1937), pl. 70 b.

(⁴) C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Chagar Bazar and Tall Braq", *Iraq*, IV (1937-1938), pp. 178 ff.; VII (1940), pp. 22-67.

a ceremony was held for the god Shamash; priestly guilds and scribal schools flourished, and theophorous names imply, in accordance with the mixed population, a cult of Accadian (Shamash, Aia, Sin, Adad), Amorite (Erah, [H]ammu, Lim, Asad) and Hurrian (Simiga, Kubaba) deities. It must be remarked, however, that among the personal names, the Accadian predominate, whereas there are otherwise five Amorite names to every six Hurrian names. The name עֲקָבָעַ occurs three times. As an item of cultural interest the mention of teams of chariot-horses and a *mušabihu* or trainer in a five-groom stable may be a precious link in tracing back the origin of chariots to the northern hill country, whence not only was the horse introduced but also hardened wood for the carriage itself was more easily supplied.

These few lines on Chagar Bazar and related sites help much to depict the thoroughly advanced yet, ethnically speaking, rather composite and, for this very reason, most shifting character of North-Mesopotamian culture. In many ways it helps to confirm the evidence yielded at Mari, although Mari itself was predominantly Amorite, as already shown. In particular, the extremely syncretistic religious nature of both lends vivid color to the background against which the Hebrew patriarchs played their role in history. A most striking case in point would be, if space permitted, to pursue at length the study of the cult of the moon-god Sin, as it first originated with the early Sumerians and, flourishing especially in the time of Ur III (c. 2070-1960) under the Sumerian names EN.ZU⁽¹⁾ and NANNA, became assimilated to the Accadian culture under the Semitic names Sin and Nannar, and then worked its way westward through the centuries. At the time of Babylon I, c. 1830, the god Sin became, in effect, a typical Amorite god, and a detailed study⁽²⁾ has shown how the elaborate cult of the moon-god Sin and his consort Ningal at Harran is best understood in the light of the Amorite diffusion as a borrowing from Ur in Babylonia. In direct support of this view, the Amorite character of Mari not only makes it plausible, but a temple dedicated there to Sin makes it inescapable, showing the path the cult followed. Further, the frequency of personal Sin-names in the time of Babylon I⁽³⁾, of the corresponding *wārah*-(*arab*, *erah*, *rah*) names among the Amorites themselves⁽⁴⁾, of Sin-names again, at an earlier date, as far west and north as Cappadocia⁽⁵⁾, and their comparative absence in Nuzu, attest the extensive popularity of this cult in the west. Let us here make a passing reference also to the hymn to Nikkal⁽⁶⁾ found at Ras Shamra, most probably transmitted through

(¹) These characters were most probably read in the order *ZU. EN* (=Sin) for at times when the genitive case is involved, the syllable -n-a follows them, e. g. *Nin-gal-dam-ki-ág* ⁴*Sin-n-a*, "Ningal, the beloved spouse of Sin"; cf. G. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, 360, 7, 1. Thus it would be a case somewhat similar to the writing *GAL.LÚ*, which is read *lugal*. In the latter case, however, note also the curious writing *GAL.LU* (=*UDU*), to be read *lugal*; cf. A. Pohl, *Vorsargonische und sargonische Wirtschaftstexte*, Leipzig, (1935), p. 16, col. 2 and the review by N. Schneider in *Orientalia*, 5 (1936), p. 144.

(²) P. Dhorme, "Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire", *RB*, 37 (1928), pp. 367 ff. and pp. 481 ff; *ibid*, 40 (1931), pp. 364 ff. and pp. 503 ff. For an early study of Sin cf. Et. Combe, *Histoire du culte de Sin*, Paris (1908).

(³) E. g., see the names in P. Kraus, "Altbabylonische Briefe", *MVAeG*, XXXV, 2. Heft (1931), XXXVI, 1. Heft (1932); some are composed with Nannar also.

(⁴) T. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, p. 69.

(⁵) Compare the personal names in the Cappadocian tablets, e. g., J. Lewy and G. Eisser, "Die altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden vom Kültepe", *MVAeG* (1930), pp. 1-340; *ibid.* (1935), pp. 1-220.

(⁶) C. H. Gordon, "A Marriage of the Gods in Canaanite Mythology", *BASOR*, 65, pp. 29-33; A. Goetze, "The Nikkal Poem from Ras Shamra", *JBL*, 60, pp. 353 ff; H. L. Ginsberg, "Two Religious Borrowings

Hurrian⁽¹⁾, for among the Hurrians she was a leading figure. It seems quite clear, too, that from Harran the cult spread southward as the later Aramaic inscriptions and the Bible itself make plain⁽²⁾. What concerns us most at present is that the biblical narrative which traces the journey of Abraham with Terah, his father, Sarah, his wife, and other kinsmen from Ur to Harran (Gen. 11, 31), could fit in perfectly with the migrations of nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples of the entire first half of the second millennium B. C. One may see, perhaps, traces of the moon-god in the names of some of his relatives, such as Laban⁽³⁾, Sarah, and Milcah⁽⁴⁾, and that such a point is not altogether unfounded the Bible itself shows with the words: "Your fathers worshipped false gods beyond the river" (Jos. 24: 2). Then, as the biblical recital goes, Abraham with his kinsmen and all his substance journeyed from Harran to Canaan, not indeed to worship Sin at a new shrine, but at the summons of Yahweh to enter the land He would show him⁽⁵⁾. Now, if anything is emphasized in Genesis, it is that Abraham's forbears and imme-

in Ugaritic Literature. I. A Hurrian Myth in Semitic Dress", *Orientalia*, VIII (1939), pp. 317-327; J. Aistleitner, "Die Nikkal-Hymne aus Ras-Schamra", *ZDMG*, 93 (1939), pp. 52-59; A. Herdner makes interesting remarks on the often differing opinions of the last two authors in *Syria*, 23 (1942-1943), pp. 282-285. We may take occasion here to refer to T. H. Gaster, "A Canaanite Ritual Drama", *JAOS*, 66 (1946), pp. 49-76. Although this article does not refer to the Nikkal hymn, but rather to the poem of the Gracious Gods, it represents an attempt, even if somewhat imaginative and overdone, to reconstruct the *libretto* of sacred rites and dramatic action often verified in ancient Semitic literature, as at Ras Shamra.

(¹) T. J. Meek has reported on a bilingual hymn to Ningal in *BA*, X (1913), part 1, no. 23; also cf. W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 159. For a rich documentation on this subject cf. Knut Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsingfors (1938), pp. 141, 380, and especially pp. 442-448. In particular with regard to the Ur III period cf. N. Schneider, *Die Götternamen von Ur III*, Rome (1939), pp. 71-72; he makes the striking remark, "In keinem der Texte aus der Zeit der 3. Dynastie wird Sin mit Ningal in Verbindung gebracht" (*ibid.*, p. 72).

(²) Cf. the Zakir stele (8th cent.), where line 24 contains the names **šnr** and **šmš**; also the two Nerab inscriptions (7th cent.) from the region of Aleppo: I, 1. 2, where the priest mentioned is Sin-zér-ibni and 1. 9, where the names of deities, Sahar, Šms, Nkl and Nusk occur; II, 1. 9, where the same names are found. In the Bible the passages Deut. 4:19, 17:3; 2K. 23:5 and Jer. 8:2 contain clear allusions to the idolatrous cult of the moon. Indeed, the names of Jericho (יְרִיחוֹ) and Beth Yerah (בֵּית יְרָה) must point to an early flourishing of this cult in Palestine. Julius Lewy in his article, "The Late Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon and its culmination at the Time of Nabonidus", *HUCA*, XIX (1946), pp. 406-489, among other things, attaches to the prolonged stay of Nabonidus at the oasis of Têmâ a profound religious significance, whereby the cult of the moon-god, already very ancient in Arabia, was to find at Têmâ a sanctuary greater than those of Ur and Harran. This same god was worshipped also under the name of Tér (a dialectal variant of **šnr**) both in the desert and at Harran. No matter how tendentious his conclusions may appear, he has gathered up a very rich body of material which he carefully documents and presents in connection with this cult.

(³) Julius Lewy in "The Old West Semitic Sun God Hammu", *HUCA*, XVIII (1944), p. 434, n. 39, has insisted on the mention of the moon-god Laban in the Old Assyrian theophorous name *Labaná-ilá*; cf. *idem*, "Zur Amoriterfrage", *ZA*, 38 (1928-29), p. 26. That the biblical Laban should have the name of an old Northwest-Semitic deity is nothing exceptional in itself; to suggest, however, that the biblical Laban was originally this deity, only later invested with a human character in the Old Testament, as Lewy has done in "Les textes paléo-assyriens et l'Ancien Testament", *RHR*, 110 (1934), p. 45, is purely gratuitous.

(⁴) P. Dhorme, *op. cit.*, *RB* (1928), p. 511.

(⁵) For latest studies of the historical setting in which Abraham's migrations took place in the west, cf. L.-H. Vincent, "Les pays bibliques et l'Égypte à la fin de la XII^e dyn. égyptienne", *Vivre et Penser*, II (1942-43), pp. 187-212; A. Bea, "La Palestine préisraélitica. Storia, popoli, cultura", *Biblica*, 24 (1943), pp. 231-260; R. de Vaux, "Les patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes", *RB*, 53 (1946), pp. 336-348. In these mutually complementary articles the reader will also find an historical evaluation of the so-called

diate descendants had close racial and regional bonds with Upper Mesopotamia. The place-names Terah, Nahor and Serug in the district of Harran recall his own forefathers, while both Isaac (Gen. 25:20) and Jacob (Gen. 28:2) take wives from that country; the latter was called a wandering Aramaean (Deut. 26:5); and finally the genealogical lists (Gen. 10:22-23; 22:20-23) constantly stress such relationships. Be it said at this point that not only have the latest archaeological findings offered nothing to oppose such traditions but rather they have much to advance in confirmation of them, as seen in the work done by C. H. Gordon, E. Speiser and others in pointing out the remarkable parallels between life at Nuzu near the little Zab and patriarchal society of the Bible ⁽¹⁾. For example, to cite but a few instances of varied nature, the desire for offspring is manifested in Gen. 16:2 when Sarah, who is without child, gives her handmaid to Abraham, that she may have children of her at least. This case, together with similar ones of both Rachel and Leah (Gen. 30:3, 9) in regard to Jacob, finds its juridical background in a marriage contract from Nuzu: "If Gilimnинu bears no child, Gilimnинu will take a woman of the country of N/Lullu as wife of Shennima and Gilimnинu shall not have the right to drive out the offspring" ⁽²⁾. Small wonder, too, if a divine dispensation was needed to allow Ishmael, the son of Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, to be driven out of his home! (Gen. 21:10-12). In regard to inheritance we read in Gen. 15:4 of Eliezer, the slave of Abraham (v. 2): "He shall not be thy heir, but he that shall come out of thy bowels, him shalt thou have for thy heir". In other words, a slave, even though he is entitled to inheritance, must yield place to a natural son, if subsequently born. Two texts from Nuzu aptly illustrate this point: H, IX, 22 where an adopted slave is made heir in exchange for attending his adoptive parent in life and burying him in death; and H, V, 7, 60, 67, where the adopted son must give up his place as chief heir to a natural one, born after the adoption. Finally, a sense of community responsibility is clear from Deut. 21: 1-7 where it is prescribed that, if one is found slain in the field and the murderer is unknown, then the elders of the nearest city are to break a heifer's neck in the valley and to wash their hands over it, saying: "Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it" (v. 7). In a text from Nuzu, a certain Gelteshup accuses the townsmen of Purulli of burglary and larceny, but "so declare the men of Purulli: We swear that they did not steal these things which (are listed) according to (this) tablet, from the house of Gelteshup and that the men of

execratory texts (*Ächtungstexte*) which are of extreme importance for the geography, ethnography and political history of Phoenicia and Palestine in the Middle Bronze Age; cf. K. Sethe "Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des mittleren Reiches", *Abh. d. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Nr. 5, Berlin (1926); G. Posener, *Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiératiques sur des figurines d'envoûtement du Moyen Empire*, Bruxelles (1940). The texts published by Sethe go back to the 20th century, those published by Posener to the 19th century B. C. The latter show a marked advance over the former in respect to the rapid settlement of these areas at the time indicated. See further M. Noth, "Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen" *ZDPV*, 65 (1942), pp. 9-67. In *Syria*, 22 (1941), p. 196, notice is given of Enno Littmann's "Unsemitische Ortsnamen in Nordsyrien". They seem to be neither Semitic nor Indo-European nor Turkish, and hint at most widely different groups which populated Syria in the past.

⁽¹⁾ C. H. Gordon, "Parallèles nouziens aux lois et aux coutumes de l'ancien Testament", *RB*, 44 (1935), pp. 35 ff.; "Biblical Customs and the Nuzi Tablets", *The Biblical Archaeologist*, III (1940), no. 1, pp. 10 ff.

⁽²⁾ C. H. Gordon, *RB*, *ibid.* The case also finds a striking parallel in the Code of Hammurabi, § 146; cf. also § 14 of the Sumerian laws.

Purulli dit not *break into the house of Gelteshup*"⁽¹⁾. From these and similar cases we see how intimately continuous and cohesive were biblical social custom and legal practice with Mesopotamian usage. The discovery of such important texts as these can only confirm the favorable attitude which critics recently have shown towards the historicity of the biblical accounts of the Patriarchs⁽²⁾.

A discussion of those passages in Genesis which mention Aram Naharaim and related districts might naturally be expected at this point but, as suggested before, we think it best to reserve it to Chapter Seven for a more comprehensive study. Another difficulty it would be most gratifying to have smoothed out of our path would be the definite fixing of the date of Abraham. It is not a problem directly pertinent to our theme since what has been hitherto said regarding the Patriarchal Age remains unaffected by it. Attempts made in the past to establish the identity of the kings in Gen. 14:1 as well as their geographic or ethnic connections have met, as is known, with varying and at times dubious success⁽³⁾. One should note particularly that the number of those who seriously propose to identify Amraphel of Gen. 14:1 with the great Hammurabi of Babylon grows steadily smaller⁽⁴⁾. Perhaps the new approach to this problem would be indicated by attempting to identify Chedor-laomer of Gen. 14:1 with a Kuter-Nahhunte of Elam⁽⁵⁾, but here, too, the situation is still too obscure to permit extended comment.

(1) C. H. Gordon, "An Akkadian Parallel to Deut. 21", *RA*, 33 (1936), pp. 1-6.

(2) Cf. F. Böhl, *Das Zeitalter Abrahams*, Leipzig (1930) and A. Alt, *Der Gott der Väter*, Stuttgart (1929).

(3) Cf. F. Böhl, "Die Könige von Genesis 14", *ZATW*, 36 (1916), pp. 65-73; "Tud'alia I., Zeitgenosse Abrahams, um 1650 B. C.", *ibid.*, 42 (1924), pp. 148-153; W. F. Albright, "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology", *JPOS*, 1 (1921), pp. 49-70; "Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period", *ibid.*, 2 (1922), pp. 119-138; "Shinar-Šanğar and its Monarch Amraphel", *AJS*, 40 (1924), pp. 125-133; "The Historical Background of Genesis XIV", *JSOR*, 10 (1926), pp. 231-269. M. Gruenthaler in "The Date of Abraham", *The Cath. Bibl. Quart.*, IV (1942), pp. 360 ff., V (1943), pp. 85 ff., identifies Chedorlaomer of Elam with a certain Ku-dur-laham-mal (in accordance with Albright's earlier view) as read in the so-called Spartoli tablets. However, no one of the forty known Elamite kings between 2100 and 1100 B. C. bore such a name; cf. George C. Cameron, *History of Early Iran*, Chicago (1936), pp. 228 ff. The tablets must, therefore, evidently be read otherwise.

(4) The West-Semitic name Hammurabi, written as *Ammura-PI*, *Ammurabi*, *Hammurabi*, *Hammura-PI*, *Hammurabih*, seems explainable only on the basis of *Ammu-rawiḥ*, as pointed out by D. Luckenbill (*JAOS*, XXXVII, pp. 250-253). It means "the family (or clan) is extended" as seen from the Babylonian translation, *kimta rapaṣṭum*. Thus, it is difficult to identify this name **Hammurabi** with **Amraphel**. The attractive suggestion of F. Böhl (*op. cit.* [above p. 25, n. 2], p. 358) that Amraphel might be *Amāt-pi-el* of Qaṭna supposes unfortunately not only the unlikely scribal confusion between *Rēsh* and *Tāw*, but also that *Shin'ar* is in the west. This is not yet proved. — The attempt of J. Lewy (*HUCA*, XVIII, 1944, pp. 429-436) to find in the name Hammurabi a new West-Semitic sun-god **Hammu* flies in the face of the evidence, as W. F. Albright has pointed out (*JBL*, 64, 1945, pp. 291 ff.), not only from the Babylonian translation of the name but also from the spelling of the same or similar names in Egyptian and biblical texts and in South-Arabian inscriptions.

(5) W. F. Albright, "A Fixed Date in Early Hebrew History?", *BASOR*, 88 (1942), pp. 33 ff. Albright concludes that the Elamite king involved in the events of Gen. 14 is Kuter-Nahhunte I, who would have flourished about 1625-1610 B. C., so that the historical events described "from oral sources in Gen. 12-50 could be dated between 1700 and 1550 B. C., in the last phase of the Middle Bronze Age" (*ibid.*, p. 36). This may appear quite late, but in any case, it is important to remember that, in the words of A. Bea (*op. cit.*, p. 248), "l'insieme dei fattori storici e culturali rende assai probabile che Abramo non sia entrato in Palestina prima del secolo XIX. Supposto poi che le date cronologiche contenute in vari passi della S. Scrittura siano ben trasmesse, ciò ci condurrebbe a mettere l'ingresso dei figli di Giacobbe in Egitto nel secolo XVII, cioè nel periodo degli Hyksos, e l'esodo nel secolo XIV o XIII, che sono caratterizzati

Before passing on to further considerations, it may not be irrelevant here to add that no mention has been made thus far of the Khapiru for the simple reason that to date we do not know enough about them to speak with confidence and certitude. It is true, they must have come much into play since they appear in cuneiform documents throughout the second millennium B. C. Furthermore, this much at least may be said: the term "Habiru", as is now known, should be read *Hapiru* = *'Apīru* and it probably represents a simple appellative rather than an ethnic designation, when applied to people who played a strange and almost ubiquitous role during the period indicated. Wherever they appear, they seem to be foreigners, not sedentary, nor yet purely bedawin; in Old Babylonian texts they are veritable *condottieri*, in Mesopotamia and Syria they are soldiers and free-booters, at Nuzu they are voluntary slaves, and in the Amarna age they are raiders and rebels against the Egyptian sovereign. If it should ultimately prove true that the *'Apīru* in Palestine were the same as the Hebrews, as many scholars hold (¹), then such an ethnic usage of the term would be a comparatively later development. But the entire question here, too, is still too obscure to be of direct service in our present study.

B) Some Problems of the Hammurabi Period. The Hittites.

The new data that the finds at Mari have brought us, especially the political data, are not only factors which have helped to give us a new chronology for this period (see pp. 6 ff.), but they also call insistently for a reconstruction of history which will answer the questions which still arise. Let us consider first the facts and then the problems. The remainder of this chapter will then be devoted to explaining the solutions we propose.

The facts thus far known are these: to the west of Babylonia in the early second millennium the Amorites were a most powerful people, especially as represented at Mari. We have

in Palestina da un radicale cambiamento della situazione culturale. Ma vi sono ancora delle incognite in questi conti, e frattanto l'esegeta farà bene a non arrischiare un sistema cronologico, prima che nuovi testi ci forniscano una base più sicura".

(¹) See E. Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Ancient Near East in the Second Millennium B. C.", *AASOR*, XII, pp. 40 ff., and W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, pp. 182 ff.; 211. For the most recent material and discussions, see further Ed. Chiera, "Habiru and Hebrews", *AJSL*, 49 (1932-33), pp. 115-124; Martin Noth, "Erwägungen zur Hebräerfrage", *Festschrift Otto Procksch*, Leipzig (1934), pp. 99-112; B. Landsberger, "Studien zu den Urkunden aus der Zeit des Ninurta-tukul-Asšur", *AfO*, 10 (1935-36), p. 141, n. 7; F. Böhl, "Der babylonische Fürstenspiegel", *MAOG*, XI (1937), p. 34, n. 2; E. Dhorme, "La question des Habiri", *RHR*, 118 (1938), pp. 170-187; J. Lewy, "Hābirū and Hebrews", *HUCA*, XIV (1939), pp. 587-623; J. W. Jack, "New Light on the Habiru-Hebrew Question", *PEQ*, 72 (1940), pp. 95-115; Ch. Virolleaud, "Sur les nouveaux textes de Ras-Shamra", *RÉS* (1940), pp. 74-76; E. Kraeling, "Light from Ugarit on the Khabiru", *BASOR*, 77 (1940), pp. 32-33; "The Origin of the Name 'Hebrews'", *AJSL*, 58 (1941), pp. 237-253; A. Goetze, "The City Khalbi and the Khapiru People", *BASOR*, 79 (1940), pp. 32-34; Ch. Virolleaud, "Les villes et les corporations du royaumes d'Ugarit", *Syria*, 21 (1940), p. 143; A. Gustavs, "Die Aussprache von TAR-mi in subaräischen Namen", *AfO*, 14 (1941-42), pp. 201-202; H. Rowley, "Ras Shamra and the Habiru Question", *PEQ*, 72 (1940), pp. 90-94; "Habiru and Hebrews", *ibid.*, 74 (1942), pp. 41-53; J. Friedrich, "Kleinigkeiten zur ugaritischen Grammatik", *Orientalia*, XII (1943), p. 4; I. Gelb, *H8*, p. 54, n. 37; A. Guillaume, "The Habiru, the Hebrews and the Arabs", *PEQ*, 78 (1946), pp. 64-85.

suggested that it was their domination of the whole Euphrates valley that caused the Assyrians to find a northerly commercial route to Cappadocia in the nineteenth century, an enterprise which, however, broke off most abruptly, as far as our records go. In the ensuing vicissitudes of the lower Mesopotamian states, Assyria at times made its power felt southward, as e. g., under Ilushumma (c. 1829-1823). Certainly at a later period, Shamshi-Adad I (c. 1748) (1) conquered Mari and placed his son Yasmah-Adad there as regent in place of Yahdun-Lim (cf. p. 25). Farther west along the Euphrates at Tirqa (modern Deir ez-Zôr) he built a temple to Dagan. Still farther west he set up a stele at Lab'an beside the great sea and was the first Assyrian ruler to call himself *šar kiššati*, "king of the world". It is plain then that he had won the coveted southern route of commerce to the west, in the most fertile part of the Crescent. It is at this point that a recent historian explains Assyrian success as due to the "failure of any one of the contending dynasties of Babylonia to hold sway along the great trade route" (2). But here such history needs a radical revision. The facts are that upon the death of Yasmah-Adad, Zimri-Lim at Mari did regain his father's throne, and then Hammurabi, ruler of the greatest of the contending Babylonian dynasties, succeeded in the thirty-first year of his rule in crushing Rim-Sim of Larsa. This meant he was now free to strike out for the unified control of all Mesopotamia, and could dispense with protective treaties to hold off his rivals. Two years later, c. 1695, he attacked and conquered Zimri-Lim of Mari, his erstwhile ally, and then probably returned after two years more to dismantle the capital completely. One by one he brought his enemies low and established a rule the equal of which for power and progress Babylon had never seen before, and, in following centuries, was always to look back upon as the height of its glory. Yet he seems never to have ruled in the west beyond Hit and Mari, nor in the north beyond Assur and Nineveh. Surely one would think that, in the annals of his time, an expedition into Syria would have been recorded, had he made it. One may object, however, that not only did he conquer Elam and Marhaši but Subartu too, yet Ungnad (3) has shown that in this case the term can mean only eastern Subartu, i. e., not far west of Nineveh. Now it seems rather ingenuous (4) to say that, because of his uniquely humane spirit and magnanimous ideals in statecraft, Hammurabi did not try to reach out for the treasured products of the western countries, the Lebanon and Amanus mountains, when such riches had been the traditional objectives of his predecessors, and would have been of the greatest service in furthering his own truly noble aims at home. In other words the questions which the events just delineated force upon us are essentially two: 1) Why did Hammurabi not and hence why could he not, penetrate westward beyond Hit and Mari? 2) Why did he not and hence why could he not penetrate farther to the north and west than Nineveh? Perhaps this latter question depends upon a previous one.

(1) See above (p. 8, n. 3), however, for Weidner's observations on the Khorsabad list and his date for Shamshi-Adad I, i. e. 1729-1697; also M. B. Rowton's conclusions regarding the Khorsabad list (p. 9, n. 3).

(2) S. Smith, *EHA*, p. 201. Smith at the time of his writing could not utilize the data from Mari, and since he placed Hammurabi at c. 1940, fully one century before Shamshi-Adad I (c. 1840), it is not surprising he should have made such a statement.

(3) Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 120.

(4) E. g., B. Meissner, *KBA*, p. 55, "ging sein (Hammurapis) Ehrgeiz verständiger Weise nicht auf die Eroberung weit entfernt liegender Länder aus..., sondern er begnügte sich im wesentlichen mit der Herrschaft von 'Sumer und Akkad'".

Why, a century and a half before Hammurabi, were the Assyrians forced to break off their northern trade in Cappadocia and to try their fortune in the south, pitting their strength against the Amorites and finally wresting the southern Euphrates route from Mari, under Shamshi-Adad I, shortly before Hammurabi's ascent to power? As we see it, the answer to the first question is, in the main, the Hittites, and the answer to the second, in the case of Hammurabi and perhaps in that of the Assyrians before him, is, in the main, the Hurrians. Both of these peoples are of extreme importance for our study of Aram Naharaim. Let us first consider the Hittite question, since it fits in directly with the subjects we have just been treating, and, subsequently, take up the Hurrian question, which involves some broader issues and so calls for more elaborate discussion.

Happily, in connection with the Hittites, we do not have to speak *per longum et latum* of the manifold achievements of Hammurabi's reign. It is, strictly speaking, outside our topic and is otherwise well known. What is important is to note that since his main task and supreme boast (1) was the unification of all the states of Sumer and Accad with attendant peace and prosperity, it is safe to assume that such a policy predominated in the new lands such as Mari which he gradually annexed to his own. This end was attained primarily by canonizing the one language for all, by making Accadian "the language of the land", the classical expression of which is found not only in the letters of the time, but especially in his famous code (Fig. 14). This is the *aurea aetas* of Babylonian letters, and attention has already been called to the similar character of Mari Accadian (p. 24). Since the code was probably promulgated before the thirty-seventh year of his reign (2), it was doubtless in force also in Mari until his downfall five years later in 1686 B. C. Nor would this have been too violent an introduction there since the code was a redaction of previous Sumero-Accadian law, and Mari itself was predominantly Accadian as late as the twentieth century B. C. Although the Babylonian Code was, in all probability, considerably milder than native Amorite customary law, still Mari must have had to experience in its own midst, at times, the raw execution of the *lex talionis* (3). Surely Mari must also have been bound to pay regular tribute to the coffers of the palace, but in turn the splendid state organization in Babel, so evident in the canalization of its more arid zones, the standing army recruited from the Amorite population and the well protected status of both the soldier and the feudal servant (4), must have found its more or less faithful replica in Mari.

Yet "sceptre and crown must tumble down..."; after a reign of forty-three years Hammurabi passed on and disintegration of the state soon set in. A document of this time from the Suhi region on the Euphrates shows the ready defection of local sheikhs from the Babylonian king (5). Almost as soon as Samsu-iluna (1685-1648) ascended his father's throne, the Sea-Peoples made their power felt, and, in his twenty-eighth regnal year, took from him under Iluma-Ilu all the southern country, as far north as Nippur, so that Hammurabi's realm was split into two

(1) Cf. the prologue of the Hammurabian code.

(2) S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

(3) E. g. C. H. §§ 196, 197, 186. G. Dossin has also shown in his article "Un cas d'ordalie par le Dieu fleuve d'après une lettre de Mari" in *Symbolae ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, Leiden (1939), pp. 112-118, how § 2 of the Code is closely paralleled at Mari.

(4) C. H. §§ 26-41.

(5) Pinches *CT*, IV, Pl. 1-2, translated by Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, no. 238.

states. Abieshuh (1647-1623), the next king of Babel, had little success, but his successors Ammiditana (1622-1588) and Ammisaduqa (1587-1567) were able finally to fortify the land as far south as the mouth of the Euphrates. It seemed that Hammurabi's realm would rise again under Samsuditana (1565-1536), yet once more from the west-land the course of Babylon's history was to be given a new turn.

The Hittites.

In his interesting book on the Hittite religion, G. Furlani has done well to insist vigorously upon a threefold distinction in the usage of the term "Hittite" ⁽¹⁾. The original Khatti were the autochthonous people of eastern Anatolia; the Hittites proper were Indo-Europeans (Fig. 15) who migrated from the west and founded their empire in eastern Asia Minor; the later Hittites of Syria were of varied ethnic and linguistic composition and continued the Hittite cultural tradition until succumbing completely to the Assyrians in the seventh century B. C. Of the first group we know very little; they received their name from the capital Khatti and their language was *sui generis*. The third group does not concern us here. The second group, related to the early Luvians of southern Anatolia, were already present in Cappadocia at the beginning of the second millennium. They applied to themselves the name Khatti of the former native inhabitants, a usage observed also with regard to them by the Assyrians and Egyptians, although they called their own tongue Nasi or Nesi ⁽²⁾. Their particular strength was felt from the seventeenth to the twelfth centuries B.C., a period we may divide into the Old and New Hittite Kingdoms, the former of which concerns us now.

It was the serious study after 1871 of their pictographs, especially from northern Syria, that first told us of the Hittites and their hieroglyphs (Fig. 16), entirely distinct from Egyptian ⁽³⁾.

⁽¹⁾ G. Furlani, *La religione degli Hittiti*, Bologna (1936), p. 2 f.

⁽²⁾ A. Goetze, *HCA*, p. 52; he was reluctant to admit this previously in his "Kleinasien", *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, III, 1, p. 51, (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, Abt. III, I, Bd. 3, 1933, München). In this latter work the reader will find ample bibliographical references. A gap felt by the author in his own work has been filled in the meantime by Stefan Przeworski, *Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens in der Zeit von 1500-700 vor Chr. Rohstoffe, Technik, Produktion* (*Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, Bd. XXXVI, Supplement), Leiden (1939). It is important to note that iron was costly and infrequently used in Anatolia until the first millennium B. C. For a rich and complete photographic display of Hittite art and artifacts for the three periods of history we have indicated, see the latest work by Helmuth Bossert, *Altanatolien. Kunst und Handwerk in Kleinasien von den Anfängen bis zum völligen Aufgehen in der griechischen Kultur*, Berlin (1942), Plates 67-84; 89-166; 180-254.

B. Hrozný, to whom so much credit is due for the recovery of the Hittite language, has been less fortunate in his recent work, *Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens*, Prague (1940). In this book he falls far short of presenting a worth-while synthesis of ancient history. As W. Otto has shown in a rather severe but not unmerited critique, "Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, II, 3, München (1941), Hrozný's work abounds with statements and conclusions that rest on ill-controlled anthropological data, on mere fortuitous assonance of words, and on subjective theories. Thus the Hittites, of whom he treats on pp. 103-150, came undoubtedly, as did most of the other early peoples, from the region of the Caspian Sea; Otto feels justified in speaking (*op. cit.*, p. 23) of a "Caspomania" on Hrozný's part. Hrozný still follows an impossibly high chronology, putting Hammurabi, for example, at 2003-1961 B. C. Cf. B. van Proosdij in *Jaarbericht*, 9 (1944), pp. 88 ff.

⁽³⁾ For further references cf. J. Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* (1929), pp. 337 ff; J. Friedrich, *Entzifferungsgeschichte der hethitischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, Stuttgart (1939); H. G. Güterbock, *Siegel aus Bogazkoy I* (1940); K. Bittel, *AfO*, 13 (1940), pp. 181 ff. For the direct consideration of the script and grain-

The language of the Hittite hieroglyphs is closely related to that of cuneiform Hittite. Hittite is Indo-European in structure and yet the presence of many loan-words shows there must have been a not inconsiderable fusion with native tongues. However, only when the marvelous discoveries, initiated by Hugo Winckler in 1906 at Boghazköy, the Hittite capital east of the Halys river, yielded some ten thousand cuneiform documents⁽¹⁾, were historians able to gain an insight into the real power and extent of this great empire. The fact that the cuneiform script should have been thus adopted as the medium of expression for a whole culture, the Hittite⁽²⁾, is another sign of how preponderant was Accadian influence in the west via the upper Euphrates valley. Strange as it may seem, however, this Hittite cuneiform script, though later than the Cappadocian documents, does not seem to have been borrowed from these. The latter reflect the Babylonian type of Ur III (c. 2070-1960) while Hittite resembles a later script which antedates the First Dynasty of Babylon⁽³⁾. Why the Hittites did not borrow from the Cappadocian traders is still called an unsolved problem⁽⁴⁾. Perhaps it is most plausible and yet not an over-simplification of the problem to propose that the Hittite script seems to have been an adaptation of the Hurrian system of writing; evidence suggesting this⁽⁵⁾ is not lacking.

So far as can be discerned, Hittite power arose from the rivalries of smaller city potentates to attain complete hegemony over all, a position finally achieved and held by the cities Zalpa, Nesa and Kussar in succession. The Old Hittite empire as such began in the early sixteenth century when Labarnas extended his rule from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean

mar of this language, consult I. J. Gelb, *Hittite Hieroglyphs* I (1931), II (1935), III (1942), Chicago. Cf. most recently H. G. Güterbock and S. Alp, "The Hittite Hieroglyphic Inscription of Sirzi", *Revue de la Faculté de Langues, d'Histoire et de Géographie*, V, 2, Ankara (1947), pp. 152-158. The authors do not venture to give an interpretation of this new text thus far. W. Otto (*op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.) vigorously rejects Hrozný's claim that the "hieroglyphic" Hittites were a particular people whose script was a branch of a proto-Indic script, used as early as 2500 B.C., and who themselves were of importance from India to Crete. Hrozný furthermore contends that the language of the Hittite hieroglyphs is one of the western Indo-European or *kentum* tongues (*op. cit.*, p. 115); this view had been defended previously by E. Forrer and, in part, by P. Meriggi, but has been vigorously attacked by I. Gelb and G. Bonfante (*JAOS*, 64, 1944, pp. 169-190) who claim it to be an eastern Indo-European or *satem* tongue. This stand has been rejected in turn by A. Goetze (*ibid.*, 65, 1945, pp. 51-53) who points out, besides, that the very *status quaestionis* presupposes that Hittite (whether cuneiform or hieroglyphic) is an Indo-European language, and that it implicitly excludes the Indo-Hittite hypothesis of languages. Whether Hittite should be considered, in other words, as a sister or rather as a kind of aunt to the Indo-European languages is a question which should be settled in the first place; for Bonfante's reply to Goetze, cf. *JAOS*, 65 (1945), pp. 261-264.

(¹) These tablets have been published particularly in the series *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, which thus far has reached its thirty-third volume, and may be found in transcription, especially those of the Old Kingdom, in E. Forrer's *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, 2 Bde., 1922, 1926.

(²) It is amazing how in less than thirty years after the discovery of the texts themselves, the Hittite tongue was deciphered in all its essential details; cf. Fr. Hrozný, "Die Sprache der Hethiter", *BOST.*, I, 2 (1917); E. H. Sturtevant, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, Philadelphia (1933); more recently J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch*, I. *Kurzgefasste Grammatik*, Heidelberg (1940), with a review by E. Benveniste in the *Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, 125 (1942-45), p. 46; II. *Hethitische Lesestücke in Umschrift*, Heidelberg (1946). Cf. also H. Otten, "Zum Palaischen", *ZA*, 48 (1944), pp. 119-45, where the author contends that this tongue is similar to both Hittite and Luvian.

(³) E. Forrer, *Die Boghazköi-Texte in Umschrift*, I (1922), pp. 3 ff; B. Landsberger and H. G. Güterbock, *AfO*, 12 (1937-39), p. 56. E. Speiser (*IH*, p. 14) would trace it back to Old Accadian.

(⁴) A. Goetze, "Kleinasiens", *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, III, 1 (1933), pp. 63, 161.

(⁵) E. Speiser, *IH*, p. 13 f.

and westwards. His son and successor Khattusilis I (c. 1580) conquered all of eastern Asia Minor and carried his wars to the gates of Aleppo. It was his grandson Mursilis I (c. 1560) who finally stormed it, subduing all Syria, and then, striking deeply towards the east, took and plundered Babylon itself (c. 1550) (¹). Soon afterwards the glorious dynasty of Hammurabi came to an abrupt close. Yet these gains could not be consolidated, for not only were the distances immense but we are informed of court intrigues (²) on the part of nobles, and of strife and murder within the Hittite state itself, so that swift political decline was inevitable. The period ends with Telebinus (c. 1500) and then, as in nearly all western Asia, here too written sources cease for nearly one hundred years.

To the early Hittite Empire seems to belong the nucleus, at least, of the Hittite Code (Fig. 17) (³). It portrays a patriarchal type of society and an agrarian economy; the landholder is also bound to feudal service, and both individual and community responsibility are in evidence. It is much more humane in its conception than e. g. the Assyrian laws, since there is no *lex talionis* in force and its whole orientation is rather towards compensation for the losses of the victim than towards punishment of the offender. In this sense its penal aspects may be styled more protective than vindictive.

It will have appeared from the foregoing that the early growing and increasing power of the Hittites may well have been a reason for Hammurabi's not having penetrated farther westward than the Mari region. On the other hand, it seems equally clear that, after their short-lived sway over Babylon, their influence on northwestern Mesopotamia and northern Syria could not have been too permanent at this time. If so, the weakening of their power may have been due to more than internal dissensions at home. In other words, what may have been partly the cause of the *lucrum cessans* of Assyrian merchants in the nineteenth century B. C. and more easily, we are inclined to believe, the cause of Hammurabi's failure to penetrate farther north than Nineveh and Assur in the late eighteenth century B. C., was undoubtedly also a barrier to continued Hittite domination in Mesopotamia in the middle of the sixteenth century B. C., — a people which only most recent studies have shown to be all-important in the history of Aram Naharaim — the Hurrians.

D) The Hurrian and Subarian Problem.

1. Initial Studies.

This stage of our studies brings us to one of the most burning questions of early Mesopotamian history in recent years. Who were the Hurrians, what was their relation to the Subarians, what was the duration and the extent of their diffusion, of their power? These are so many queries which archaeological discoveries within the past twenty years have done much to elucidate, it is true. Yet, because of the many obscurities that still remain, scholars are all the more eager to press home to its ultimate solution so tantalizing a problem. The swelling number

(¹) This fact, correlated with our new general low chronology, is a fixed point in early Hittite chronology.

(²) For information on this period we rely especially on the so-called text of Telebinus (2 BOTU, 23 A), translated by J. Friedrich, *AO*, 24 (1925), 3, 6-9.

(³) B. Hrozný, *KBo*, VI and H. Gressmann, *ATG*, *Hettitische Gesetze*, p. 423 ff.

of monographs devoted to this problem alone clearly attests this. We cannot therefore dispense with tracing the course of these studies (1), and with indicating our own stand on the question.

The term Subarian became known to the modern world years before the term Hurrian. Friedrich Delitzsch knew the terms *Šu-ba-ri-i* and *Šu-bar-te* of the Assyrian inscriptions, which he related to Syria (2), but he read the Sumerian ideographs SU.EDIN^{KI} as *Sumaš^{KI}* and *Su-bar-tu* as *Su-maš-tu*, relating both to *Su-ti-um^{KI}*, a land east of the Tigris near the Diyala. Later readings by J. Strassmaier of SU.EDIN^{KI} as *Su-ri* and *Su-bar-ti* as *Su-ri-ti* were defended by H. Winckler, especially in his article "Suri" (3) but a final definite reading of *Su-bir^{KI}* for SU.EDIN^{KI} was proved by Thureau-Dangin from Accadian syllabaries. The famous cuneiform letter of Tuishrata, king of Mitanni, found among the Amarna tablets of Egypt in 1887, was shown to be written in a language related to that of the SU.EDIN^{KI} words and so the new language was called Mitannian, spoken in Mesopotamia and northern Syria. Later discoveries of personal names at Dilbat, Nippur and Kirkuk, led A. Ungnad in 1909 to grant a prominent role to the "Mitannians" in the history of Assyria and Babylonia, and to believe them to be Hittites.

The term Hurrian as such seems to have been known first from the Boghazköy discoveries initiated by Hugo Winckler in 1906, when he brought to light a new ethnic group whom he called "Charri" and whom he identified with the biblical Horites, the *H̄-r̄ic* of Egyptian sources, also with the Indo-Iranian *arya*, "Aryan" (4). Yet Hrozný was able to show that the "Charri" were not Indo-European but rather related in tongue to the people of the Tuishrata letter and it was he who fixed the better and now accepted reading *Hurri*. Since these linguistic phenomena seemed to indicate ethnic affinities, and with widespread points of contact at that, it was inevitable that they should create a ferment of thought. In 1923 Ungnad advanced his pan-Subarian theory (5) whereby hardly any quarter of the ancient Near East could disclaim the Subarians as its primitive stock. In 1926 E. A. Speiser, although he could not admit with Ungnad that the Subarians were the earliest people at Assur, nevertheless put the Hurrians in Mesopotamia as early as the third millennium B. C. and in 1930 he went on to claim that the Elamites and Hurrians, under the negative denomination of Japhethites, a name which he gave them together with the Cassites, Lullians and Gutians because none of these could be definitely classed with any Semitic, Hamitic, Sumerian or Indo-European groups, were the original populations of Babylonia and Assyria respectively (6). Although attractively presented on the basis of place-names and chronological implications of the painted pottery correspondence between Elamite Susa I and Ur, his arguments did not carry enough force to dislodge the Su-

(1) See also the excellent summary in Gelb's *Hurrians and Subarians*, Chicago (1944), pp. 1-11. For reviews of this important work of Gelb, see A. Goetze, *JNES*, V (1946), pp. 165-168 and F. M. Th. Böhl *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 3 (1946), pp. 116-119; both accept Gelb's main thesis, namely, that the Hurrians and Subarians should hereafter be considered as completely distinct, with limitations. We shall have occasion to refer to these reviews in the following pages.

(2) F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig (1881), pp. 234 ff.

(3) H. Winckler, "Suri", *OLZ*, X (1907), pp. 281-99; 345-57; 401-12.

(4) Cf. Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 4, with full references.

(5) A. Ungnad, "Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens", *Kulturfragen*, I, Breslau, 1923.

(6) E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, Philadelphia, 1930.

merians from their accepted position as the earliest makers of Babylonian culture⁽¹⁾. Such negative reaction to Speiser's theory was only too justified, for further excavations at Nuzu showed that in the Accad period (c. 2300) there were comparatively few Hurrian names to be found⁽²⁾. This evidence, or rather, lack of it, confirmed by the fact that neither at Nuzu nor at Tell Billa, a site one hundred miles north-west of Nuzu, could convincing traces of Hurrians be found in the third millennium at all, led Speiser to make a radical change in his historical reconstruction — "... northern Mesopotamia was to them (the Hurrians) an adopted land, which they overran in the course of an extensive migration at the beginning of the second millennium, certainly not much earlier. It follows, therefore, that the Subarians... cannot be equated with the Hurrians of the Boghazkōi texts or with their Syrian relatives"⁽³⁾. According to Speiser the term *Šubarū*, an importation from Mesopotamia, was for the Babylonians a purely geographic term in the third millennium; late in the second millennium it acquired an ethnic meaning but is not used in a linguistic sense before the first millennium B. C. The term "Hurrian" on the other hand, is primarily ethnic; its linguistic and geographical connotations are secondary, and after the Amarna age the ethnic and linguistic coincide⁽⁴⁾.

Thus for the first time was injected into these discussions a note of decision in separating the Hurrians and Subarians. [But long-cherished theories die a hard death.] In 1936 A. Ungnad published his *Subartu*⁽⁵⁾, where after a well-nigh exhaustive presentation of sources relating to Hurrians and Subarians, unequalled by anyone hitherto, he crusades for the never relinquished thesis: the Subarians and Hurrians are essentially one and the same people; the heart of their speech and culture must have lain near the headwaters of the Khabur river at Washshukkani⁽⁶⁾, not far from Tell Halaf; they formed the primitive population of Mesopotamia, stretching westward to Cappadocia and the Mediterranean, eastward to the Persian border and northward into Armenia, distinct traces of them being found in racial types of these regions even today, so that the Subarians are as important for North-Mesopotamian origins, if not more so, than the Sumerians are for early Babylonia⁽⁷⁾. To be sure, Hurrians were not heard of before the second millennium but the name is not originally ethnic! The Hurrians were, according to Ungnad, nothing more nor less than the older established Subartu elements which banded together to meet the rising Hittite menace. *Hurru* therefore originally was a simple abstraction meaning "Band" or "Union"⁽⁸⁾, and in the concrete, the "Allies". That is why in Ungnad's work, like an ever-recurring motif, appears his insistence that there never was a large-scale migration of Hurrians in the second millennium B. C.⁽⁹⁾. They had been there all along, but the Babylonians had known them before as Subarians; in other words, before the second millennium, the

⁽¹⁾ Cf. *supra* p. 12, nn. 1, 2; p. 13, n. 7.

⁽²⁾ Cf. T. J. Meek, *Old Akkadian, Sumerian and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*, HSS, X, 1935.

⁽³⁾ E. Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B. C.", *AASOR*, XIII (1933), p. 25.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.

⁽⁵⁾ A. Ungnad, *Subartu, Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Völkerkunde Vorderasiens*, Berlin und Leipzig, 1936.

⁽⁶⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 163 ff.

⁽⁷⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 194 ff.

⁽⁸⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁽⁹⁾ *Ibid.*, pp. 149, 157, 173, *et passim*.

Subarians were the Hurrians. The rich painted-pottery culture of Tell Halaf, comparable to those of Arpachiyah and Nineveh, and dating back to approximately 5000 B. C., according to Ungnad, shows Subarian achievement as superior to the Sumerian; metallic studies yield the same result⁽¹⁾. The stone sculptures of Tell Halaf, too, cannot be of the Kapara dynasty but are typically early Subarian, corresponding to the Jemdet Nasr monuments of Babylonia⁽²⁾. The term *Subartu* itself was early a political concept ranging from the end of Ur III down to c. 1758 B. C., when it vanished as such. Possibly the Hittite pictorial script is a legacy of the early Subarians⁽³⁾ surviving through the centuries until the cuneiform characters prevailed. Such, in main outline, were the proportions to which Ungnad's pan-Subarian theory had grown. Be it said in passing that perhaps his outstanding contribution to the whole problem has been his comprehensive presentation, and, in given cases, often masterful evaluation of the large majority of the pertinent sources. But the theory was not to remain unchallenged. In the interim, more attention was devoted to steady mastery of the Hurrian language⁽⁴⁾. In particular the expeditions to Nuzu had unearthed precious tablets which contained a wealth of Hurrian personal names. Diligent study⁽⁵⁾ of these has now been brought to a point where anyone familiar with them can recognize similar ones when encountered elsewhere.

2. The Hurrians are not Subarians.

It was in connection with these same Hurrian names from Nuzu that Ignace Gelb was led to take up anew the whole problem of Hurrian and Subarian relationships⁽⁶⁾. Deeply convinced from a new study of early Sumerian and Accadian sources that the two groups in question are to be henceforth treated as two totally unrelated peoples, ethnically, linguistically, and in great part even geographically and chronologically, he tries to prove his case in accordance with the scholastic principle: *Mutua separabilitas signum realis distinctionis*. In other words, the fact alone that separate histories of the Hurrians and Subarians can be written is more than enough evidence that they cannot be identical. Quite admittedly, the touchstone he employs to test which of the two groups is to be discerned in a given case is philology⁽⁷⁾, since the use of language and consequently the linguistic character of personal names are perhaps the most reliable external clues to ethnic identity, even though other elements such as physical anthropology, archaeology, art and especially religion are often great aids — but here our knowledge of the latter aids is in too rudimentary a stage to be of conclusive value. In the present wri-

(¹) *Ibid.*, pp. 178 ff.

(²) *Ibid.*, pp. 183 ff.

(³) *Ibid.*, p. 191.

(⁴) Cf. Gelb, *HS*, p. 11, where this topic is concisely stated.

(⁵) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

(⁶) *Ibid.*, Preface, p. iii.

(⁷) *Ibid.*, Preface, p. v. We fail, therefore, to see the full justice of A. Goetze's remark (*op. cit.*, p. 165) that "the author's approach is, in the main, geographic-historical". Gelb constantly appeals to the presence of personal names in the various regions, especially when dealing with the Hurrians. It is true, however, as Goetze remarks, that greater prominence should have been given to the names collected in Appendices II and III, being respectively Subarian and Hurrian for the Ur III period in particular. In connection with Appendix III, cf. G. Rudolf Meyer, "Noch einige 'Mitanni'-Namen aus Drehem und Djoha", *AjO*, 13 (1939-41), pp. 147-152.

ter's opinion, until scholars have worked out to a nicety the distinction between nation, people and race, the whole question will at best still present difficulties. It is clear to all that a *nation* (*dēmos*) is a juridical entity, a moral person, formed by the united will of many individuals to be a political unit, a state; a *people* (*ethnos*) is the whole cultural complex, as Gelb rightly asserts, of common traditions, customs, religion, language and even geographical position which distinguish one group from another, though not all of these elements are postulated with equal necessity. It follows that a nation may consist of one people only, like the Republic of San Marino, or of many peoples, like Russia today. With regard to peoples themselves, history attests only too well that they usually become assimilated when they give up their language, thus losing their identity, as witness the case of the ancient Accadians under the impact of the Arameans; unless, despite the change in language, such absorption is impeded by geographical isolation, as is largely true in the case of the Irish people, or by some other major insuperable barrier, as in the case of the American negro. The latter belongs to the American nation, since he is an American citizen; he belongs to the American people since he now has in common with his white brethren many similar traditions, similar customs and culture, adheres to one or other of the same religious denominations, uses the same language and breathes the same local air—but he is not assimilated, as our modern sociologists are only too painfully aware! And so, the notion of *race* (*genos*) must be considered, in spite of its drastic misuse in the past. It is another complex, largely biological in character, taking into account anatomical and physiological, possibly also psychological factors. True enough, what comes from the notion of race may give rise to or, what is more certain, within historical times be inseparably connected with one or more elements of the notion "people" and so, in turn, too, the latter element or elements may, in given cases, be justly taken as indicative of "race", so that a certain looseness and fluidity in the use of the term "ethnic" is inevitable⁽¹⁾. But conclusions in such studies in the future will be much more clear-cut if the term *nation* be considered as political, the term *people* as cultural (including, e. g., religion and language), and the term *race* as biological.

What application then have these discussions to our present problems? They have been initiated mainly to inject a note of caution into the question of the Hurrians and Subarians. Although it is true that "as an outward expression language becomes the symbol with which a people is most easily identified"⁽²⁾, still from the foregoing it seems that groups of one and the same race may come to possess different cultures and thus speak different languages, in a word, become different peoples despite a common origin. And so, "to show that Hurrians and Subarians were of different and unrelated origins"⁽³⁾ almost exclusively on linguistic grounds and on the fact that distinct histories of the two can be written seems tantamount to saying that since the American negro speaks English, gives good Anglo-Saxon names to his children and can already point to a history of centuries distinct from that of his African fellowman, he is, in contrast to the latter, of different and unrelated origins! The fact is we do not know who

⁽¹⁾ The writer freely admits that the term "ethnic" has been used thus elsewhere in this work, where further precision was not called for. Yet, when far-reaching claims are made, as here, distinctions must be made, lest we extend to a "race" what was proved only for a "people".

⁽²⁾ Gelb, *HS*, Preface, p. v.

⁽³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. iv.

the Subarians were and Gelb himself admits (*HS*, p. 43, n. 138) that "in reality we know nothing of the racial characteristics of the Subarians". Nor, on the other hand, are our remarks to be construed in the least as a defense of Ungnad's theory; but it seems that even if separate histories of the Hurrians and Subarians can be written, we may still have to say "*Non constat*" concerning their origins.

These statements, treating of basic assumptions which lead to extreme conclusions, constitute the main adverse criticism of Gelb's book, but, from their very nature, they do not in the least affect the body of his work. His task was beset with many difficulties, not the least of which was that not even here, where so much depends on linguistics, are we possessed of great knowledge of the two terms of comparison in the Hurrian-Subarian question. Not only do we know nothing of the Subarians racially speaking, but our knowledge of the Subarian language is next to nothing⁽¹⁾. At most we are in the moderately secure position of being able to say what is not Hurrian rather than what is positively Subarian. Gelb's work on Hurrian personal names has qualified him well for this task. His first step is to examine the reasons hitherto alleged for identifying the Hurrians with the Subarians, namely, that some Hurrian words are notated with *SU^(K)* or *SU.BIR^(K)* or *ina Šubari*, that Hurrians occupied Subarian territory, and that names of Subarian persons in the Ur III period are Hurrian in structure⁽²⁾, all of which reasons he finds devoid of solid bases. On the contrary, the facts that Ur III yields many Hurrian personal names definitely dissimilar to those of Subarian persons, that from Ras Shamra⁽³⁾ both *šbr* (*Tbr*) and *Hry* occur in the same text and that the Hurrian names for the Tigris and Euphrates rivers are unlike those used in Subartu make their identity quite untenable.

Before approaching Gelb's treatment of history, let us remark that we shall be more concise in commenting on the periods both before the Accad Dynasty (c. 2360-2180), since they are outside our own theme, and after 1500 B. C., since we shall have occasion to utilize such data more in detail in subsequent chapters. Turning then to history, Gelb considers the Subarians, concluding that in the matter of terminology, the gentilic form *Š/Subarum* is always written syllabically in Accadian, but the name of the land is written either syllabically or in Sumerian logograms. Of the latter, the form *SU.A^{KI}* which alone occurs in the pre-Sargonic texts, then both *SU.A^{KI}* and *SU^{KI}* which occur in the Ur III period, and finally *SU^{KI}* which alone occurs in the late Assyrian syllabaries, all seem to refer to Subartu in a geographical sense. The form *SU.BAP-PIR*, found in the Old Accadian and Ur III periods only, seems to be replaced by *SUBIR*, starting sporadically from Ur III on, met with increasingly thereafter, and so it is presumably to be identified with *SUBIR*. Prior to the Dynasty of Accad Gelb thinks the city of *H.A.A^{KI}* of the first antediluvian dynasty of Eridu, read as *Šubari*, was named after the Subarians. The word *Šubur* in the early Fara texts as well as in the later pre-Sargonid texts has largely ethnic

(1) Gelb, *op. cit.*, Appendix II, pp. 100-108; where he makes a special study of Subarian names, few enough in number, and concludes that they represent "an ethnic and linguistic unit, hitherto unrecognized, inhabiting extensive mountainous areas stretching from northern Mesopotamia in the west to Elam in the east". The undefined use of the term "ethnic" again is misleading; we should agree with the statement if ethnic means in reference to *people* in Gelb's sense, if in reference to *race*, it is still best to say, "we don't know".

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 15 ff.

(3) *Syria*, X (1929), pl. LXII.

or professional connotations; as a political unit it first appears in an inscription of Lugal-annimundi of Adab where it is placed between Marhasi and Amurrû (¹).

In the Old Accadian period, Subartu was conquered by Sargon, as a late chronicle tells us. His grandson, Naram-Sin, is reported to have conquered the land of "Elam as far as Parahse and Subartu as far as the Cedar Forest", which latter, in contrast to Gelb, we take to mean the region of the Amanus mountains (²). Of some five hundred personal names found on Old Accadian tablets from ancient Gasur (later Nuzu), it is possible that a large number may be actually Subarian (³). The period of Ur III offers no exact geographical delimitation of Subartu from historical documents, even though they do place it definitely east of the Tigris; business documents, however, which abound, show from Subarian personal names that it was centered in the area of the Zagros mountains (⁴). From the Old Babylonian period, our information touching Subartu comes mainly from the reign of Hammurabi (c. 1728-1686); in his thirty-second, thirty-third, thirty-seventh and thirty-ninth regnal years he reports conquests of Subartu, "whose mountains are distant and whose languages are knotty (⁵)". (ša ša-du-šu-nu ne-su-ú li-ša-an-šu-nu e-eg-ru) (⁶). Contemporaneous letters to Zimri-Lim of Mari confirm the fact that Subartu was in the highlands. It seems hard to escape the conclusion, for reasons advanced by Gelb (⁷), that Assyria was also included in the term *Subartu*. Economic documents and letters inform us that Subarians were employed and bartered as slaves (⁸). In the Late Babylonian period

(¹) Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 34; cf. Ungnad, *Subartu*, pp. 31 and 36 ff.

(²) Gelb, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 36; but see above p. 15, n. 4.

(³) Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 37 and p. 53, n. 33. It is precisely here that F. Böhl (*op. cit.*, p. 119) regrets Gelb's neglect of so rich a field, especially since some of the names in question carry a reduplicated final syllable, e. g., *Abubu*, *Ahužu*, *Belili*, etc., a phenomenon encountered also in the Subarian names Gelb has studied in his Appendix II, e. g. *Kuzuzu*, *Sinini*, etc. Without pronouncing himself further, Böhl indicates this group of names from Gasur as the next material to be studied for the Subarian language, and even supplies some similar material from other sources.

(⁴) Gelb, *ibid.*, Appendix II, pp. 100 ff.

(⁵) W. von Soden in "Der hymnisch-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen", *ZA*, 41 (1932-33), p. 170, n. 3, says the fundamental meaning of the root 'gr' is "to lay crossways"; *lišānu egru* is an "unverständliche, wirre Sprache". A language, unintelligible of itself, would be strange indeed; it could be unintelligible, however, in the sense that its complicated structure would make it difficult to understand. Hence the meaning "complicated, involved", seems preferable; cf. B. Landsberger, "Das 'gute Wort'", *MVA eG*, 2 (1929), p. 316, "egēru = 'über Kreuz', spez. 'kompliziert sein'." E. Ebeling in "Die siebente Tafel des akkadischen Weltschöpfungsliedes Enuma Eliš", *MVA eG*, 12 (1939), p. 11, translates the words *na-d(in) it-gu-ru-da-ba-ba* of line 39 as "der... das verwickelte Denken gibt".

(⁶) Gelb, *ibid.*, p. 43. Goetze (*op. cit.*, p. 166, n. 9) is sceptical, however. Since he doubts whether Assyria ever formed part of Subartu, he will necessarily be at loggerheads with F. Böhl over the latter's historical reconstruction of Assyrian history just before the time of Hammurabi of Babylon. Böhl (*op. cit.*, pp. 117-118) claims that the power over Assyria attributed to the Hurrians by Gelb at this period (*HS*, p. 66) should be rather attributed to the Subarians (*ibid.*, p. 42 f.). Subartu at this time was a real kingdom and when conquered by Hammurabi, Assyria fell with it to the Babylonians. Such an explanation is in itself plausible and would not necessarily be opposed to Hurrian infiltration in the Old Babylonian period (see below p. 45) or even earlier (see below p. 47). However, the long silence of Assyrian documents for almost two hundred years after Shamshi-Adad I seems attributable principally to an ever-increasing Hurrian invasion.

(⁷) In this connection the term *nawirlam* as applied to a slave girl is interpreted literally by Gelb (*ibid.*, p. 43, n. 138) as "light, fair-skinned", but figuratively by Speiser (*MO*, p. 107) as "sound, healthy, good" and Ungnad (*Sub.*, pp. 104 ff.), as "aufgeweckt, intelligent". Much may be said on both sides and it is much too early to dogmatize on the matter. If the evidence were so clear-cut as the respective authors contend, there would hardly be such disagreement. Let us await further evidence.

(c. 800-500 B. C.) *Subartu*, when it occurs, clearly refers to Assyria. If, however, we turn to the Middle and Late Assyrian sources, the historical inscriptions report wars with the Subarians, who plainly are represented as dwelling to the north and west of Assyria itself. It is true, nevertheless, that at the time of Enlil-nirari (1326-1217) the land of the Subarians extended also somewhat south of the Little Zab, and later, as a matter of notation for future discussion, in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206) it could not be considered as identical with Mitannian Hanigalbat. Rather at this time and later down to the reign of Aššûr-nâšir-apli (883-859), the land of the Subarians is consistently equated with mountainous country and with the land of Nairu to the north. The land name *Šubria*, as appears in late Assyrian texts and letters⁽¹⁾, denotes a small state between the Tigris and Lake Van. The three references to the "land of the Subarians" in the Amarna letters⁽²⁾ (c. 1450) Gelb finds have too easily been referred to Mitanni and he would rather connect them either with Assyria and surrounding regions or with the vast region between the upper Tigris and the Taurus range, according as the Syrians adopted the Babylonian or Assyrian points of view respectively. He may be right in holding this view of the problem. A text from Boghazköy of the late fourteenth century mentions in order Halpa, *mât Šu-ba-ri-i* and *Kinza*⁽³⁾.

So much for the Subarians. It now remains to see if the Hurrians can be treated as a people with a history completely apart from them. The name⁽¹⁾ *Hur-icu(u)-hē* as seen in the Tuishrata letter consists of a root *huru* plus thematic vowel *u* plus the gentilic ending *hē*. The Boghazköy and Nuzu texts give slightly varied readings. From a number of sources, Hebrew, Greek and Egyptian, we see that the English form Hurrian is correct since it reflects *Hurri*, the established spelling. Significantly Gelb remarks that the syllabic spelling of the name in Egyptian is in itself evidence of the relatively late appearance of the Hurrians. In fact, evidence for them in pre-Sargonid times is most tenuous, whereas for the Old Accadian period itself the personal names *Dup-ki-a-šum* and *Tišpak-kum* can yield nothing decisive; but later copies of legends relating to Naram-Sin's reign give *"Pu-ut-ti-ma-da-al*, *"Hu-up-šum-ki-bi* and *"Ki-ik-li-pa-ta-li-in*, probably Hurrian names. Old Accadian letters from Chagar Bazar and Tell Braq show hardly a Hurrian name while Old Accadian letters and administrative documents from Gasur (ancient Nuzu) show at most a few dubiously Hurrian out of some 500 names. The earliest clear record of such names is a dedicatory tablet of Samarra⁽⁴⁾, dating certainly from before Ur III, which yields the names of *A-ri-ši-en*, *Ša-dar-ma-at* and *Ša-um-ši-en*. The localities connected with these names show therefore a gradual infiltration of Hurrians in the Old Accadian period between the Tigris river and the Zagros Mountains. The period of Ur III favors us with a number of Hurrian personal and place names which Gelb has discussed in Appendix III of his book (pp. 109-115). He finds that the typically Hurrian roots: *ar*, *baš*, *ith*, *nan*, *šen*, *tupk* and *un* of the Nuzu documents abound here also. Again they point to east of the Tigris and towards the mountains. At best, however, the paucity of Hurrian names in comparison with non-Hurrian elements makes plain that the main Hurrian invasion came after Ur III. During it, as a matter of fact, there is positively no trace of Hurrians in Susa, Syria or Mari. A few

(¹) Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

(²) *E.A.*, 100: 20-23; 108: 11-17; 109: 39 ff.

(³) *KBo*, I, 22, rev. 4-7.

(⁴) Thureau-Dangin, "Tablette de Samarra", *RA*, IX (1912), pp. 1-4.

Hurrian names found in the Cappadocian texts (c. 1900) permit us to say they were probably nothing more than incidental traders along with the Assyrians there. Coming on to the Old Babylonian period, some religious texts in Hurrian were found at Mari, and though few Hurrian personal names came to light here, nevertheless a contract from Hana reads: "*Da-gan ša Hur-ri*" or "Dagan of the Hurrians", the earliest known reference to the Hurrians as a people⁽¹⁾. Southern Syria and Palestine seem entirely Semitic at this time and the entire upper Euphrates valley and Syria were predominantly Amorite. The latter holds true for Tell 'Aṭshāna (ancient Alalakh) as well, so that when Hurrian nobles are mentioned and Hurrian month names are used there, this must be regarded as a sign of sporadic earlier Hurrian penetration. Farther north at Chagar Bazar near the Khabur, Hurrians form a minority group of an otherwise largely Accadian population, while farther east again, they seem to be grouped about Dilbat near Babylon.

Thus far there is direct evidence for the gradual infiltration of the Hurrians from the north down to the First Dynasty of Babylon. For the period following down to approximately 1500 B. C. our evidence is more inferential, based especially on what we know of the period following 1500 B. C. The great void in historical written sources referred to above (see pp. 4, 10) makes this necessary. But if we consider the subsequent reference of Assyrian subjection to Mitanni, the flourishing Hurrian center at Nuzu, the many Hurrian deities worshipped at Boghazköy, Hurrian diffusion into northern Syria at Tell 'Aṭshāna and Qaṭna, and into Palestine, with traces even in 18th Dynasty Egypt⁽²⁾, all of these points being verified particularly after 1500 B. C.,

(¹) First noticed by Gelb (*op. cit.*, p. 63) when he changed previous readings from *šar-ri* to *Hurri*, claiming that Teshup, the Hurrian weather god, is the one meant here by the Accadians under the name Dagan. Although sceptical of Teshup's being the Hurrian national god in the Old Accadian period (*ibid.*, p. 55) he rightly regards Teshup as such here, for G. R. Meyer has shown in "Die älteste Erwähnung des hurrischen Wettergottes Teshup", *AfO*, 12 (1937-39), pp. 366-371, that the oldest inscriptional evidence for the god Teshup comes from the period of Ur III, in the reign of Shu-Sin.

(²) As seen from Hurrian names on an ostrakon of the 18th Dynasty. For all we know, there may have been Hurrians connected with the Hyksos in Egypt at an earlier date. Since our knowledge of the Hyksos is still too meagre, we refrain from discussing them at any length in this work. The sphere of their influence may, it is true, directly affect our theme, since the name of Khayana, the first Hyksos ruler, was found in Babylon as well as in Cyprus, but evidence is wanting for far-ranging conclusions on this topic. It will suffice, in any case, to refer to two recent works on the question, where more ample references will be found. The first is by R. M. Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, Chicago (1939). The author would see Hyksos cultural influence in Egypt as early as the reign of Sesostris II (1901-1887 B. C.) in the middle of the Twelfth Dynasty, especially as seen in the Tell el-Yahūdiyeh type of vase. This does not mean, however, that there was at so early a date marked Hyksos influence in the political sphere. Such political power began about 1730 and lasted until 1580. It is to be noted that, since other cultural features, typical of the Hyksos, e. g., the introduction of the horse and chariot into Egypt, great earth-work enclosures and fortifications, and certain types of scarabs, appear only at this same time, i. e., about 1720, the argument drawn from the vases in question runs the risk of extending the term "Hyksos" to those who were perhaps simply "Asiatics", and not Hyksos in the traditional sense. For this reason the book does not remain uncontested. The second work is by Hanns Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens* (= *Ägyptologische Forschungen*, 12), Glückstadt-Hamburg (1942). The author does not seem to have been able to utilize Engberg's study, doubtless because of war conditions. He bases his historical conclusions on an exhaustive and systematic study of scarabs in conjunction with monuments of the period in question and the restored Turin papyrus. They are briefly as follows: after the Middle Kingdom there was a short period of decadence in Upper and Lower Egypt (c. 1782-1765/60); then followed the Thirteenth Dynasty controlling all Egypt (c. 1765/60-1710), near the end of which there were partial

one cannot deny that to claim a large-scale Hurrian migration between 1700 and 1500 B. C. is a valid conclusion. The evidence is indirect but inexorable—if the Hurrians had not thus migrated, it would be hard to account for the sudden and complete dearth of documents for the period in question or for the abundant and widespread presence of the Hurrians in the period immediately following. Gelb reconstructs the picture as follows:

Around 1700 B.C. ... a great migration of Hurrians started from an area somewhere between Lake Van and the Zagros mountains. The Hurrians invaded Mesopotamia and Assyria... and some of them reached Egypt... they may have been influential in pushing the Cassites into Babylonia from their homes in the Zagros mountains. On the other side Hurrian pressure toward Anatolia is attested in Hittite sources. In time various Hurrian tribes formed themselves into an organized state with its center in Mesopotamia. The later traces of Hurrians in Babylonia, Assyria, Anatolia, Egypt, Syria and Palestine are witnesses to a greater expansion in the past, when Hurrians occupied or held sway over large portions of the Near East (¹).

Naturally, the evidence referred to in the preceding paragraph we shall take up more in detail when treating of the Mitanni kingdom. In regard to the latter, since it will form the subject of our next chapter, suffice it here to say that it represents a strong concentration of Hurrian power in Mesopotamia extending at times to parts of Syria and Assyria, until the growing Assyrian menace brings it to a halt, particularly under Shalmaneser I (c. 1272-1243). As the Hurrian population then became steadily absorbed into the surrounding peoples, remaining traces of it are found principally towards the northeast. That is to say, the specifically Hurrian names linked with definite sites as they occur in the later Assyrian inscriptions from Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) to Assurbanipal (668-633) point to a region between

rules in the region of the Delta, including the Fourteenth Dynasty; finally the period of Hyksos domination followed (c. 1720-1580). This consisted of an earlier group ruling over all Egypt as the Fifteenth Dynasty (c. 1710-1620/10) and of a later group ruling over Lower Egypt only as the Sixteenth Dynasty, while in Upper Egypt the Seventeenth Dynasty simultaneously flourished (c. 1630/20-1580). Finally under Amosis I the Hyksos were driven from Egypt. With these results may be contrasted the apparent fixing of the end of the Twelfth Dynasty in 1778 by L. H. Wood, "The Kahun Papyrus and the Date of the Twelfth Dynasty", *BASOR*, 99 (1945), pp. 5-9, and the time of the Fifteenth Dynasty c. 1690-1580 proposed by W. F. Albright, *ibid.*, p. 17. Cf. K. Galli, "Hyksosherrschaft und Hyksoskultur" *ZDPV*, 62 (1939), pp. 89-115.

Stock's conclusions (*op. cit.*, pp. 37, 70-75 especially) militate directly against Engberg's main thesis that Hyksos influence was felt in Egypt so early as the Twelfth Dynasty. This is seen not only from his remarks on the scarabs but also from his contention (p. 72) that the Tell el-Yahūdiyah ware of the Middle Kingdom period is not to be connected with the Hyksos. As regards the ethnic composition of these latter, Stock feels confident that cultural aspects of the Hyksos period as well as the course of Mesopotamian history following the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon characterize the Hyksos as an "arische Herrscher-schicht" with whom were found "Scharen churrischer und dann auch semitischer Gefolgsleute". In our opinion, before deciding on the predominantly Aryan character of the Hyksos, Stock would have done well to exercise the same caution which Engberg has shown (*op. cit.*, pp. 40-50); furthermore, see below p. 69. The evidence is far from being clear-cut enough to warrant such a conclusion. For the same reason B. Hrozný (*Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens*, p. 112) is hardly justified in saying that "die bisher rätselhaften Hyksos nichts anderes waren als Churriten" with Semitic vassals.

(¹) Gelb, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

Urmia and Lake Van. In central Mesopotamia all traces of them are lacking in the Late Assyrian period.

To sum up then, we have to do with Subarians from the early Fara period on down to Neo-Babylonian times. Who they were ultimately and what was their language or religion we cannot yet say. To quote Gelb:

In the Babylonian sources Subartu denotes a political or geographic unit situated somewhere between the Tigris, the Zagros mountains, and the Diyala. According to Babylonian tradition Subartu is the whole north. In the later Assyrian historical inscriptions, the land of the Subarians includes areas in the mountains east and north of the Tigris. From the Zagros its borders extend sometimes far west into the land of the Amorites and far south and east into the land of the Elamites⁽¹⁾.

It seems therefore certain that the center of Subartu cannot be located at the head-waters of the Khabur, as Ungnad would have it.

The Hurrians, on the other hand, present a more or less continuous history — though not always directly traceable — from the middle of the third millennium B.C. for almost two thousand years. Filtering at first into the land east of the Tigris and then down into Babylonia, they spread in the Hammurabi period across northern Mesopotamia and Syria on to Anatolia; they must have swept directly southwards after 1700, occupying Assyria, the whole Mari region and much of Syria. Our sources then present the flourishing Mitanni kingdom which finally falls before the Assyrians while traces of the Hurrians gradually become restricted to the north near Lake Van in the early first millennium B.C.

Thus in broadest outlines we think Gelb has succeeded admirably in reconstructing separate histories of the Hurrians and Subarians. And so, for historical times, we think it safe henceforth to treat the Hurrians and Subarians as two entirely distinct *peoples*; however, for reasons advanced above (see pp. 40 ff.), we think in the present case that nothing has been offered to show that the Hurrians and Subarians were of two entirely distinct *races*. Such distinctions must be made if we are not to conclude beyond our evidence. The whole Hurrian and Subarian question has been dealt with at length here for it formed an indispensable part of our study, and the author has been happy to utilize in particular the vast collection of sources made by Ungnad and the results of Gelb's new and, we hold, valid historical approach.

In particular, however, it would seem that greater attention should be paid to Hurrian movements after the fall of the Dynasty of Accad. There may have been a Hurrian irruption to the south that roughly coincided with the Guti invasion. This is not only to be suspected from the Samarra tablet, but seems quite clear from the stress laid on Urkish, the capital of Arishen in the central Zagros region⁽²⁾; that this was an important Hurrian center appears again from a recent study by E. Forrer⁽³⁾. This study deals with a tale of divine kingship and

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁽²⁾ Cf. the Boghazkoy text discussed by E. Forrer, "Langues et peuples du Proche-Orient préhistorique", *Journal asiatique*, 217 (1930), pp. 238 ff.

⁽³⁾ E. O. Forrer, "Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche", *L'Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, IV (1936), pp. 687-713, esp. p. 703.

is now recognized to be only a part of a Hurrian cycle of myths, extant in Hittite (Nasian) composition, which deals with the god Kumarbi (1). A second large text consists of three tablets and is called the "Song of Ullikummi". Ullikummi, also written Ullukummu, was the son of Kumarbi; at the behest of his father he waged war against the storm-god and other gods. What is important here is that the city Kummiya (Tablet I, Fragment d, line 20'), also written Kumme and Kumma, was the abode of the Hurrian weather-god. Unfortunately Kummiya cannot be located so precisely near Hit, as Friedrich thought (2). A text from Adadnirari II (911-891) would seem to locate it rather to the north, perhaps somewhere between the Tigris and Lake Van. In any case, it must have been one more site where early Hurrian influence was felt as being quite strong. The first myth, "Kingship in Heaven", seems to reflect, moreover, the histories of various peoples by recounting the opposing fortunes of their gods. In the present instance, when the Hurrian Kumarbi is incorporated into the Babylonian pantheon as "King of the Gods", the latest possible time when this could happen was the beginning of the Guti dynasty, a period therefore, when the Hurrians were in the ascendancy (3). The lists of the Hurrian "Kings of Kings" after the Dynasty of Accad would furthermore confirm this impression. In short, not only does an invasion by the Hurrians appear indicated for the Guti period, but the Hurrian royal names among the early Assyrians as well as the evidence from Mari would be more easily explained in the light of such a first early Hurrian irruption. The second great Hurrian invasion then was that which took place after 1700 B.C.

Other minor points of discussion do not hold us for the moment but we ask in just what way are such results useful in solving the questions asked above on page 33, that is, why were the Assyrians forced to break off their northern trade route to Cappadocia and why, later, did not and hence could not Hammurabi penetrate farther to the northwest than Nineveh? With regard to the sudden cessation of Assyrian commercial relations in the early eighteenth century our evidence does not permit us to attribute this break directly to the intrusion of the Hurrians for although their expansion toward Mesopotamia and Anatolia did continue after the fall of Ur III, still it seems to have been peaceful and not in overwhelming numbers. In general

(1) A preliminary survey of the material involved was given in part by H. G. Güterbock in his reviews (*Orientalia*, 12, 1943, pp. 338-357) of Heinrich Otten's, "Die Überlieferung des Telepinu-Mythus", *MV.AeG.*, 46, 1, Leipzig (1942) and of Otten's "Mythische und magische Texte in hethitischer Sprache", *KUB*, XXXIII, Berlin (1943). A complete treatment of the Kumarbi myths, based on the author's own ordering of the texts, has appeared in H. G. Güterbock's *Kumarbi. Mythen vom churreritischen Kronos aus den hethitischen Fragmenten zusammengestellt, übersetzt und erklärt*, Zürich-New York (1946). The author distinguishes really four Kumarbi myths: 1) the text about "Kingship in Heaven" (*KUB*, XXXIII, 120) with a few small fragments; 2) the "Song of Ullikummi", which has many copies of its first tablet, whereas the second and third tablets, continuing the first, are preserved mostly in fragments, one of which, however, is quite lengthy; 3) the myth of "Kumarbi and the Hero of the Flood" (*KUB*, VIII, 62) in which Kumarbi, Gilgamesh and Ullu(ya) are met; 4) a further fragment.

(2) J. Friedrich in "Aus verschiedenen Keilschriftsprachen. 1-2", *Orientalia*, 9 (1940), p. 206, n. 2, gives further references where Kummiya is shown to be the abode of the storm-god. He cites *KUB*, VIII, 67, 3 as grounds for placing Kummiya near Duddul (=Hit). Yet Güterbock (*op. cit.*, p. 61) shows that on one hand Hit occurs in the Mari texts and on the other that Tuttul, which is also found in them, is located by Dossin in North Mesopotamia. Kummiya may be somewhat north of Cizre; cf. Güterbock, *ibid.*, and E. Weidner, *AfO*, 10 (1935-36), p. 20.

(3) E. O. Forrer, *loc. cit.*, p. 705.

however, their diffusion in the first quarter of the second millennium B.C. would seem to have been more directly west than south if we consider that in the Cappadocian tablets there is some Hurrian material in personal names (¹) and that later in the Old Babylonian period there is some Hurrian coloring to life both at Tell Atshâna and Chagar Bazar, as already pointed out, while such influence is comparatively lacking in Nuzu and the east. Hence future evidence may bear out the present suggestion that the growing presence of the Hurrians in the west may have had its part in the final cessation of Assyrian trade there, and, with the passage of a century or more, their concentration in the upper highlands could easily have given pause to any thought Hammurabi might have had to push his armies westward along the northern route beyond Nineveh. Such early westward shifting of the Hurrians would seem to be indicated too from the fact that not too long afterwards their sturdy opposition to the Old Hittite Kingdom is amply and well attested (²). Then, after 1700, when in central Mesopotamia Amorite power fell to Babylon and the latter was subsequently cut down by barbarian invasions from the north (c. 1675), and even more so by the Cassites (c. 1600), the Hurrians could direct the path of their invasion more freely and directly southward, yet not far enough to prevent in time a sudden and far-flung attack of Mursilis on Babylon, thus ending its First Dynasty (c. 1550). But the Hurrian pressure must have continued directly southwards and laterally westwards against the Hittites, so that given internal strife within the Hittite kingdom as well, such southern and western stress could well be a major factor in breaking Hittite domination in Mesopotamia and a partial factor in the final disintegration of the Hittite kingdom itself. It is thus that the study of the Hurrian people in particular seems to clarify, in broad outline at least, some of the puzzling phases of Mesopotamian history during the first half of the second millennium B.C.

E) Résumé.

Before pursuing further our study of the Land of the Two Rivers it is well to recall that thus far our search has been far from exhaustive. Some topics we have already indicated as being too obscure for present exploitation, such as the Hyksos and the question of the Khapiru. Other factors which undoubtedly did to some extent affect the periods already considered, such as the early presence of Indo-Aryans in Upper Mesopotamia, or the growing intervention of Egypt in northeastern Syria, are more conveniently handled in the following chapter to ensure greater unity of treatment. At present, however, it will be of profit to try to resume briefly the more salient features, from the points of view of both culture and political history, which have already been seen to give a definite character to Upper Mesopotamia in early times.

Sumerian influence in early Mesopotamia was both strong and widespread, pervading life in manifold ways, from script and dress to architecture and ritual art. It was the natural overflow of a rich culture towards the northwest (pp. 10-14). In the Old Accadian period, the time when our study begins, despite its Sumerian heritage, northwestern Mesopotamia and northern Syria

(¹) Cf. I. Gelb, "Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity", *OIP*, XXVII (1935), and Gustav, "Mitanni-Namen in altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien", *AfO*, XI (1936/37), pp. 146-150.

(²) Rob. S. Hardy, "The Old Hittite Kingdom", *AJSL*, LVII (1941), pp. 191, 201-206.

were predominantly Semitic and were the great commercial gateway towards the west, as may be easily conjectured too from the name of Harran, reflecting the phrase, *harrān šarri*, "the road of the king" (1). This was true under Sargon of Accad, but especially so under Naram-Sin, when Upper Mesopotamia prospered under the flowering of Semitic culture (pp. 14 ff.). Traces of Subarians or of Hurrians there were quite faint (pp. 43, 44). In the period of Ur III (c. 2050-1960) influence from lower Babylonia was more commercial than military and the strength of the upper Euphrates country remained unimpaired as seen in the victory of Ishbi-Irra of Mari over Nippur and Isin. We are now properly speaking in the period of the growing power of the Amorites who, if anyone, were native citizens, so to speak, of the west and not of the Kurdish mountain areas (pp. 18-21). Hurrians and Subarians meanwhile are gathering slowly east of the Tigris (pp. 43, 44). The Assyrians are free to move across northern Mesopotamia, to the south the Amorite movement gains weight and momentum, leading into both the First Dynasty of Babylon (1830), which attains its zenith under Hammurabi (pp. 33 ff.), and into the contemporaneous kingdom of Mari, which displays an almost unprecedented mastery of decorative art (pp. 23-26). As by a flowing tide, however, Mari is engulfed at last by Babylonian might. But other currents are stirring and mountain streams are reaching the mighty rivers. Hurrian texts are found at Mari and the presence of Hurrians is perceptible at Alalakh and Chagar Bazar (p. 45). Between 1700 and 1500 we are forced to conclude that they swept down in greater numbers, flooding the plains below (p. 45). Yet before they possessed the entire region, the Hittites had stormed across their path to plunder Babylon (pp. 37 ff.), though they could not retain their ascendancy nor stay the ultimate advance of the Hurrians. These latter to all intents and purposes were, and, within the spatial and temporal framework of our study, can surely be considered as a people completely apart from the Subarians (pp. 40-49).

Upper Mesopotamia had enjoyed, as we have traced the course of its history, some eight hundred years of Sumerian and, even more preponderantly, Semitic (Accadian-Amorite) culture. When our sources and historical records ~~find the light again~~, about 1500 B. C., they reveal a vast change. Its dominant culture is something distinctly new and, politically speaking, it is no longer the corridor from one center of might to its extreme limits nor so much the field of battle between warring powers — it is itself a center, much more than Mari, and wages its wars afar. The Hurrians, it seems, were able to break early Assyrian commercial power in the west, then to call a halt to Hammurabi's designs in the direction of Anatolia, and certainly to hasten the Hittite downfall there (p. 49). It should not cause too much surprise, therefore, to find them subsequently welded into a mighty state — the kingdom of Mitanni.

(1) J. N. Strassmaier, S. J., *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon*, Leipzig (1887-1889), no. 116, 8; no. 178, 10.

CHAPTER IV

THE MITANNI KINGDOM

A) Its Internal Organisation, Ethnic, Social and Cultural.

Any consideration or study of the Mitanni kingdom, to be complete, must be made from many angles, since the subject itself, like a rich stone, presents to the beholder so many varied and arresting facets. If we try first of all to consider what was, in a broad sense, the organization of the state, assessing the many cultural and ethnic elements and the peculiar social structure which made for its strength, we shall doubtless be in a very favorable position for evaluating its role as a leading political factor in the historical drama of its own days. To reverse the order of our study would also have its advantages, but less so. Accordingly, we shall leave for later discussion the precise meaning of such political terms as "Mitanni, Hanigalbat", etc., and characterize the former for the moment as a powerful state in Upper Mesopotamia extending at times from Syria to east of the Tigris between the years 1500 and 1370 B. C. approximately. Such being a sufficient framework for our subject, it becomes important to study at this point two distinct peoples, the Hurrians and the Indo-Aryans, to account if possible for the social complex into which they merged, as well as to solve the Indo-Aryan problem itself, and lastly to view as a result what cultural characteristics were produced thereby. Other ethnic groups such as the early Akhlâmu and the Assyrians will be treated in the following chapter; still others such as the Cassites, Canaanites and even Egyptians might also claim consideration, since the Fertile Crescent was, ethnically as well as geographically, a mingling of many waters, but they do not emerge to the point of radically changing the picture to be portrayed, and so they will be omitted from our discussions. It is evident, furthermore, that in the first half of this present chapter we are not treating of chronology or political history as such. These matters will be handled later when we deal with the relations *ad extra* of the Mitanni kingdom.

1. The Hurrians in Mitanni.

As was indicated in the preceding chapter, the Hurrians after a steady and increasing descent from the north appear in the Mitanni kingdom as the vast bulk of the population. Although, racially speaking, we are probably justified in terming them brachycephalic Armenoids, still the most secure norm for showing their widespread presence in the Mitanni kingdom is found in their language. Granted that it may not be considered identical with Subarian⁽¹⁾, it is

⁽¹⁾ Cf. Chapter III, p. 42.

even more emphatically to be denied any relationship with Elamite or Proto-Hittite. It is closely related to Urartian, as both vocabulary and grammar show, although any attempt to connect it with the modern Caucasic dialects, in the present state of our knowledge, must remain doubtful. The efforts of a number of scholars devoted to the study of Hurrian have elucidated many of its features. Regarding orthography of the various Hurrian texts, it is noteworthy that ideograms are rather avoided and determinatives little used; the syllabic script itself reflects indirectly the old Accadian syllabary, particularly in the lack of signs for emphatic consonants and of clear distinction between voiced and unvoiced stops. It is still too early to expect a complete presentation of the Hurrian phonetic system, and because all the known linguistic phenomena so far presented have not yet been sufficiently interpreted, it is difficult to discuss its morphology apart from syntax. In particular the noun in Hurrian seems to assume a rather versatile character, discharging the functions of adjective, numeral, adverb and at times of preposition too. Gender is not formally indicated and there are no prefixes; on the other hand suffixes indicate the case relations of nouns, and the tense, voice, or agent of verbs. The elaboration of the Hurrian sentence is agglutinative, and associative particles abound. Sentence arrangement is largely paratactic and the only external sign of subordination is that of result clauses when the second of two verbs ends in the connective *-a/an*⁽¹⁾. Finally, the verb in Hurrian seems to be construed in a passive sense, and this is argued not only from internal evidence of Hurrian texts, but also from the fact that in Accadian texts from Nuzu, written by Hurrians there, we find otherwise incomprehensible exchanges of subject and predicate, yielding a normal Accadian sense totally opposed to the context⁽²⁾.

It is evident that wherever this language is found, we must usually deduce the presence of Hurrians there. First and foremost, therefore, the letter⁽³⁾ of five hundred lines from Tuishrata of Mitanni to Amenophis III, written in Hurrian, not only proves the latter to have been the official language of the Mitanni kingdom, but also shows that apart from the use of Accadian as a *lingua franca* between different nations, occasionally Hurrian, too, could be thus employed. In this light, it argues the Hurrian character of the majority of the population of Mitanni and the presence of Hurrian interpreters in Egypt. Indeed, it is noteworthy that Kelu-Khepa and Tatu-Khepa, daughters respectively of Sudarna II and Tuishrata, kings of Mitanni, both bear Hurrian names, while their fathers do not. A most distinctive clue for ascertaining the extent of Hurrian geographical distribution is precisely the occurrence of personal names. The richest field for development of this theme, as mentioned before⁽⁴⁾, is found in the personal names from Nuzu, the great majority of which are Hurrian. Nuzu, whose subjection to Mitanni is known from a letter of Saushsatar, king of Mitanni (c. 1470 B. C.), represents one of the greatest concentrations of Hurrians that we know in the period under discussion. The Nuzu texts, which were

(¹) E. Speiser, *IH*, pp. 10, 14, 50, 68 ff. and especially 198 ff.; also J. Friedrich, "Kleine Beiträge zur churrithischen Grammatik", *MVA eG*, 42, 2 (1939).

(²) E. Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 208; *AASOR*, XVI, pp. 131 ff.; L. Oppenheim, *AJO*, 11 (1936), pp. 56 ff.; C. Gordon, "Evidence for the Horite Language from Nuzi", *BASOR*, 64 (1936), p. 23. J. Friedrich in *Orientalia*, 12 (1943), pp. 223 ff. has pointed out parallels to this passive orientation of the Hurrian verb in modern Georgian and, what is more remote, in one of the Central American Mayan tongues.

(³) *EA*, II, pp. 1051 ff.; Messerschmidt, "Mitanni-Studien", *MVA G*, 4, 4 (1899); J. Friedrich, *Klein-asiatische Denkmäler*, Berlin (1932), pp. 8-32.

(⁴) Cf. Chapter III, p. 40.

discovered mainly by a joint expedition of the American Schools of Oriental Research and the Iraq Museum in 1925 under the direction of Edward Chiera and subsequently by a similar expedition of the Harvard Semitic Museum and the Baghdad School in 1928-1931 under the direction of R. H. Pfeiffer and R. F. Starr, constitute a collection of several thousand cuneiform texts, coming from private archives of families in the two neighboring towns of Nuzu (Yarghan Tepe) and Arrapkha (Kirkuk) near the little Zab, and dating back to the fifteenth century B. C. To date, some 1250 tablets have been published (1), while thousands more await their turn. These records present a worthy subject for comprehensive study, since they apply to a restricted area and do not exceed a period of one hundred years. Linguistic studies have already shown that the native population of Nuzu was largely Hurrian, though writing in Accadian.

With regard to the Hurrian names from Nuzu, if they are of two elements, it is interesting to note that the query of E. Speiser (2) as to whether they are simple compounds, e. g. *Erwi-zarri*, "lord-king", or rather equational units, e. g. *Erwi-zarri*, "the lord is king", is answered to the extent that they could at least be explained as the latter. For these personal names appear based on initial elements of verb or adjective combined by a thematic vowel with a substantive which is often the name of a deity, e. g., *Akip-Tešup*, "Teshup has granted a sister", or *Urhi-Tešup* "Teshup is steadfast". We need hardly dwell here on how much like Accadian usage this is. The secondary element ends in a vowel usually, as in *-tilla*, *-hepa*, *-zizza*, etc., if we pre-scind from theophorous or place-names as *nawar*, *ukur*, *arassih*. The suffix *ia* is generally the sign of hypocoristic names; final consonants, as in Sumerian, have a tendency to drop and in fact names can be shortened by simply dropping a syllable and not adding *ia*, as *-tešup* may become *-te* as well as *-teia* (3). These remarks hold for names of single elements also.

All in all, of the 2,989 personal names from Nuzu, 1500 are Hurrian, 631 Accadian, 23 Sumerian, 53 Cassite and 27 Indo-European while 754 are as yet unclassified. These names, though ranging through four or five generations, are not all the names which were used at Nuzu, of course, nor do they indicate its total population, though they cover between six and seven thousand persons. Names of typically Hurrian stamp from Nuzu are *Tehip-tilla*, *Puh-i-senni*, *Arih-harpa*, *Eteš-genni*, *Tarmiia*, *Ehli-Tešup*, *Zike*, *Arn-api*, *Hešalla* (4).

Turning now to the west of Mitanni, we find that Alalakh in northern Syria was a vassal state of Mitanni, as appears from the cylinder impression on a tablet dealing with a lawsuit in Alalakh, which reads, "Shutarna, son of... dirta, king of Mitanni" (5). In other tablets the

(1) G. Contenau, "Les tablettes de Kerkouk et les origines de la civilisation assyrienne", *Babyloniaca* 9, fasc. 2-4; also "Contrats et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylone", t. IX, Louvre; C. J. Gadd, "Tablets from Kirkuk", *RA*, XXIII, pp. 49-161; E. Chiera, "Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum", vols. I-IV (1927-1934), E. R. Lacheman, Vol. VI (1939); again, in the *HSS* series of Nuzu: E. Chiera, vol. I; R. H. Pfeiffer, vol. II; E. Lacheman and R. H. Pfeiffer, vol. IV; also R. F. Starr, *Nuzi*, Harvard Univ. Press, vol. II (1937) for plates, vol. I (1939) for text; cf. also E. Porada, "Seal Impressions of Nuzi", *AASOR*, XXIV.

(2) E. Speiser, *IH*, p. 204. The fact that Hurrian possesses so many associative particles and root-complements led him to be sceptical of such pure compounds. Also, Pierre M. Purves remarks: "since a two-element name is more likely to involve a complete thought, such names will now be studied on the assumption that they are essentially sentences" *NPN*, p. 188.

(3) Gelb, Purves and MacRae, *NPN*, pp. 185-193.

(4) Gelb, *ibid.*, p. 5.

(5) S. Smith, "A Preliminary Account of the Tablets from Atchana", *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX (1939), p. 43.

Hurrian deities, Teshup and Khepa, are mentioned; Hurrian names like *Qabia*, *Aki-Teshup*, *Takubuli*, *Takuwa*, *Tibe*, *Ake*, *Tagu*, *Irši(mil)la*, and Hurrian month names⁽¹⁾ show that Alalakh, as well as Tunip and Qatna farther to the south, was a powerful Hurrian stronghold in the middle 15th century. In the country of Niya, southwest of Aleppo, some of the *marjannu* rank, that is, men of the patrician class, bear Hurrian names, such as *Hišmiya* ("*Hi-iš-mi-ia*), *Pirriya* ("*Pir-[UD]-ri-ia*), *Nirua* ("*Ni-ru-ú-a*), not to mention the rulers *Takuwa* and *Aki(t)-Teshup* of Niya and *Akiya* of Arahti⁽²⁾. Still farther west we cross to *Ras Shamra* (ancient Ugarit) on the North Syrian coast, where the longest text of the 1929 expedition proved to be composed in Hurrian, containing 62 lines of 17 distinct invocations to deities and dating from shortly after 1400 B. C. This was naturally in the consonantal, cuneiform script peculiar to *Ras Shamra*, but a Sumero-Hurrian vocabulary in syllabic cuneiform was also unearthed, showing how far-reaching and important was the life that centered in Mitaanni. In general, however, a study of the personal names from *Ras Shamra* shows the ruling classes to have been of very mixed ethnic composition. Of more than six hundred names now known to us, including all classes, only one eighth can safely be called Hurrian⁽³⁾. One must recall also at this point the names of the *Amurru* leaders *Aziru*, *IR-Teshup*, *Umbi-Teshup*, *Benteshina*, etc., of the 14th century, which are characteristically Hurrian. Looking to the south, the shifting of the racial type in the population at Megiddo from the long-headed Mediterranean to the brachycephalic is doubtless due to the forward seeping in of Hurrian elements⁽⁴⁾. Hurrian proper names from Taanach nearby and from farther south make this conclusive⁽⁵⁾. Somewhat later, about 1380 B. C., we encounter Hurrian personal names among the local chieftains of Palestine, such as *ARAD-Khepa* of Jerusalem, *Akizzi* (*A-ki-iz-zi*) of Qatna, etc.⁽⁶⁾, and Hurrian words abound in the Amarna letters. The Egyptians themselves called Palestine, and at times all Syria, *Huru* (*H̄rw*)⁽⁷⁾. This certain presence of Hurrians in Palestine can now be established from the Bible also, by their undoubted identification with the biblical Horites, even though in the present state of our Hebrew and Greek texts the preservation of the historical tradition appears somewhat disturbed⁽⁸⁾.

⁽¹⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁽²⁾ A. Gustavs, "Eigennamen von marjannu-Leuten", *ZA*, 2 (1925), pp. 297 ff.

⁽³⁾ M. Noth, "Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen," *ZDPV*, 65 (1942), pp. 9-67, esp. pp. 47, 58; "Die Herrenschicht von Ugarit im 15/14 Jahrhundert v. Chr.", *ibid.*, pp. 144-164. In one text from Ugarit published by F. Thureau-Dangin, "Une tablette bilingue de Ras Shamra", *RA*, 37 (1940), pp. 97-118, there are 124 names, of which 74 seem clearly identifiable; of these latter 59 are Semitic. Such predominance is explained by Noth (*op. cit.*, p. 41) as due to the fact that this list, being a type of military levy, refers not so much to the city of Ugarit as to the country round about it.

⁽⁴⁾ W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 154.

⁽⁵⁾ A. Gustavs, "Die Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell Ta'annek", *ZDPV*, 50 (1927), pp. 7 ff.

⁽⁶⁾ E.1, II, pp. 1551-1554; also cf. p. 1556-1571.

⁽⁷⁾ W. F. Albright, "The Horites in Palestine", *From the Pyramids to Paul*, New York (1935), p. 20. Fifty-five years ago Max Müller (*AE*, p. 155) had read it as *H̄or*, but only as recently as 1927 F. Bilabel (*GV*, p. 9) read it as *Haru*, a reading now known to be erroneous.

⁽⁸⁾ Cf. especially W. F. Albright, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-24, and E. Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B. C.", *AASOR*, XIII (1933), pp. 27-31. Put briefly, in Jos. 9:7 the Septuagint read χοραῖος for "Hor"; in Gen. 36:2 the "Hor" is read in v. 20 as "Hivites", though referring to the same family; in Jos. 11:3 and Judg. 3:3 the commentators wished formerly to read "Hittites" for "Hivites" in southern Syria. Speiser radically suggests the elimination of the Hivites altogether, substituting the Ho-

Looking now to the north towards the Hittite capital Boghazköy (ancient Khattusas) in eastern Anatolia, the archives there, dating from the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B. C., yield numerous Hurrian texts, partly epic and quasi-historical, but chiefly religious in nature, as well as many translations and adaptations into Hittite from Hurrian. These finds impress upon us once more the wide diffusion of the Hurrians and their role in the life of the given localities. In this same connection it is significant that, within the royal ranks, Suppiluliumas (c. 1375-1335), the famous Hittite king, had a wife with the Hurrian name of Dadu-Khepa, his grandson Khattusilis III (c. 1290-1250) had a wife with the Hurrian name of Pudu-Khepa and she was called in an Egyptian treaty "daughter of the land of Kizwatna", i. e., from the region of the Taurus Mountains (1). Urkhi-Teshup (c. 1260-1240), great-grandson of Suppiluliumas, had a Hurrian name, as did also his wife, Danu-Khepa, while Tudkhalias IV (c. 1240), another great-grandson, had wives with the Hurrian names Nikkal-matu and Ashmu-nikkal; Arunwandas IV (c. 1230) his successor, also had a wife called Ashmu-nikkal. In the latter cases the name Nikkal (Ningal) had been borrowed from a deity who had been incorporated into the Hurrian pantheon.

This more detailed survey of the Hurrian people throughout and beyond the Mitanni kingdom, viewed now at its full growth in the light of its preceding history (see Chapter III, pp. 44 ff.), gives us a fairly clear idea, from the point of view of population alone, of one of the major elements that make up the history of this period. Space forbids a discussion of all the individual Hurrian names we know, although such a discussion would greatly heighten the impression already gained. Thirty years ago scholars were not in a position even to suspect that the biblical Horites might be only a single extremity of a powerful and distinct ethnic group, by now rediscovered in practically every quarter of the ancient Near East. And yet, in the very heart of that kingdom where their power was greatest, they were not rulers. In contrast, another group, ethnically distinct and — our sources thus far require it — much smaller in number, held sway in Mitanni.

rites in the respective texts; at most, the Hivites were an assumed subdivision of the Horites, substituted for them in the north, since only the Horites, for reasons of popular etymology (Horites = "cave-dwellers"), could be located in mountainous Edom. Albright, on the other hand, because of the strength of the Hebrew historical tradition, considers both peoples as historically authentic and will not, therefore, admit the confusion between ḥ and ḥ (otherwise so very possible) as giving rise to either name. However, if such confusion had ought to do with the origin of the names, it may have had much to do with their distribution in the Bible. In other words, the two distinct names may have been often confused and even interchanged by the scribes. Thus from Shechem north to Sidon, we are justified in looking upon the Hivites in Gen. 36:2, Jos. 9:7, 11:3, Judg. 3:3 and 2 Sam. 24:7 as Horites (*op. cit.*); in turn, we may read the Horites in Gen. 36:20 and Deut. 2:12, 22 as Hivites, a semi-nomadic tribe of Semites located near Mt. Seir before 1250 B. C. Thus the picture as portrayed in the Bible may be simply reversed, the Horites of the south being replaced by the Hivites, and the Hivites of the north by the Horites. Of the two solutions proposed, the second gives a more satisfactory explanation. The writer hopes to come back to these problems at a future date.

⁽¹⁾ Kizwatna was formerly thought to be located near the Black Sea. A. Goetze, in his monograph *Kizzuwatna*, New Haven (1940), concluded that it was situated in Cilicia and extended northwards from there. He was followed recently in this by I. Gelb *HS*, p. 68. However, W. F. Albright in his review of *Kizzuwatna* (*Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, 46, pp. 444-446), has offered strong arguments to show that Kizwatna is to be restricted to the region of Cataonia, i. e., north of Cilicia and northwest of Commagene.

2. The Indo-Aryans.

In connection with the Indo-Aryans our problems are chiefly two: *first*, what were the nature and origin of the remarkable symbiosis they effected with the Hurrians, especially since they assumed the dominant role over the latter; and *second*, what conclusions are we to draw regarding the Indo-Aryans themselves in Upper Mesopotamia in the middle of the second millennium B. C.?

Our first step is to see just what evidence there is for these Indo-Aryans or Aryan members of the great Indo-European family of nations. Here we are by no means breaking new ground, for scholars have long been acquainted with their influence in early Mesopotamia from their introduction of the horse there and from the mention of Vedic deities and Aryan personal names. The latter, however, have generally been treated only piecemeal or in smaller groups, mostly because of the lack of material⁽¹⁾. The time seems ripe now, nevertheless, to collect what names are available and to essay a more comprehensive study of them with results pertinent to our present discussion.

Following the method used in treating the Hurrian personal names, we shall have the added advantage of seeing how closely associated the two groups are, no matter how widely distributed.

a) *The Mitanni names:*

1. *dirta*, king of Mitanni⁽²⁾.

*ATT*8/52 ... -di-ir-ta = Ind. *dhṛta*, "supported by" (Dumont).

2. *Artasumara*, king of Mitanni.

EA, 17: 19 *ar-ta-aś-śu-ma-ra* = Ind. *rta-smara*, "remembering, mindful of truth" (Mironov, *op. cit.*, p. 186), "das heilige Gesetz im Gedächtnis habend" (Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 145), "mindful of the divine law" (Dumont).

3. *Artadāma*, 2, king of Mitanni; king of Hurri.

EA, 24: III, 52; 29:16 *ar-ta-ta-a-ma* =

Ind. (Ved.) *ṛtādhāmā*, "of truthful, pure character" (Mir., 186), or Ind. *rta-dhāman*, "whose abode is the divine law" (Dumont), "das heilige Gesetz zur Stätte habend" (Fr., 145).

4. *Matiwāza*, king of Mitanni,

BKSt., VIII, 1 obv. 54, 56, 58, 60, 63, 64-66, 74, rev. 12-14 and *passim*; 2 obv. 1, 8 and *passim* *Mat-ti-ú-a-za* = Ind. *mati-vāja*, "das Gebet als Siegeskraft habend" (Fr., 145), "whose victorious power or wealth is prayer" (Dumont).

5. *Parśasatar*, king of Mitanni.

HSS, IX, 1 *Pár-sa-śa-tar* = Ind. *para-*

(1) The only fairly complete treatment of these names will be found in N. D. Mironov, "Aryan Vestiges in the Near East of the Second Millenary B. C.", *Acta Orientalia*, 11 (1933), pp. 140-217, to be used, however, with great caution; in reference to Mironov's article, see A. B. Keith in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XII (1936), pp. 571-575. Also confer J. Friedrich, "Arier in Syrien und Mesopotamien", *RLA*, Bd. I (1929), pp. 144 ff.

(2) Confer the chronological table on p. 81 for the succession of the Mitanni kings. Here a number after each name indicates the number of different persons so called, followed by requisite notices. The number of occurrences, whether applying to one or more persons, is also given. In a few cases, where the general Indic character of a name seems less certain, a question mark has been prefixed. Finally, particular attention is called to the fact that our spelling of these names is not based on the Semitic texts in which they are found, but is based on normalized spelling as established from their probable Indo-Aryan character. For a more detailed account of this, the reader is referred to the study contained in the Appendix, which Prof. P. E. Dumont has prepared.

sāśitar or *para-sāśtar*, "chastiser of the enemies" (Dumont).

6. *Sauśatar*, king of Mitanni.

KUB, III 86: 5, *BKSt.*, VIII, 2, obv. 8 *Sa-uś-śa-tar*; *ATT* 8/52 (m) *Sa-uś-sa-(ta)-tar LUGAL*; *HSS*, IX, 1 (seal) *Sa-uś-śa-at-tar* = Ind. *saukṣatra<su-kṣatrā*, "well-ruling" (Mir., 189), or Ind. *saukṣatra* "the son of *Sukṣatra*", or *sukṣatra*, "ruling well" (Dumont).

7. *Satuara*, 2, king of Hanigalbat; king of Hanigalbat.

IAK, 1, p. 117 *ṁśat-tu-a-ra* = Ind. *satvara*, "schnell" (Fr., 145) "swift" (Dumont).

8. *Sūradarna* or *Šuradarna*, king of Mitanni (?)⁽¹⁾.

HSS, XIII, 165: 2 f. *ṁśu-ra-at-tar-na* = Ind. *śūra-dharāṇa*, "supporting the heroes", or Ind. *śūra-tarāṇi*, "helping the heroes" (Dumont).

9. *Sudarna* or *Sutarna*, 3, two kings of Mitanni; a son of a king of Hurri.

ATT 8/52 [*Śu*]-*ut-tar-na*; *EA*, 29:18 *śu-tar-na*, 24: I, 47 *śu-ut-tar-na* = Ind. *sutarāṇi*, "gut helfend" (Fr., 145); another suggestion is Ind. *su-dharāṇa*, "supporting well" (Dumont).

10. *Sutadara* or *Sutatara*, another name (?) for Sudarna III.

BKSt., VIII, 1 obv. 53 *śu-ta-tar-ra* = Ind. *suta-tara*, "eine Art Sohn, Stieffsohn", or perhaps a simple appellative (thus Kretschmer *apud* Fr., 145), or Ind. *suta-dhāra*, "supporting his sons" or again Ind. *suta-tāra*, "the protector of his children" (Dumont).

11. *Tuisrata*, king of Mitanni.

EA, 20:3; 21:5; 22:IV, 44; 23:4; 24: III, 103, etc. (thirteen times in all) *du-uś-rat-ta*; 19:3 *tu-uś-rat-ta*; 17:3 *tu-iś-e-*

rat-ta = Ind. *dus-śratha*, "difficult to disable, unyielding" (Mir., 187), "schwer zu überwinden" (Scheftelowitz *apud* Fr., 145) or less probably Ind. *dus-ratha*, "einen (für die Feinde) bösen Streitwagen habend" (Hüsing *apud* Fr., *ibid.*); to be preferred perhaps is Ind. *tvīśi-ratha*, "having the chariot of splendour or terror", or Ind. *tvīśe-ratha*, "whose chariot is for splendour or terror or assault"; cf. the *treṣa-ratha* of the Rig Veda (5, 61, 13) which means "having rushing (or terrible or splendid) chariots". A final suggestion would be Ind. *tvīś-ratha*, "having the chariot of splendour or terror" (Dumont).

12. *Wāsasatta* or *Waśasatta*, king of Hanigalbat.

Rocznik Orientalistyczny, IV, p. 192, line 7 *u-a-sa-śa-at-ta* = Ind. *vāśa-sāpta*, "possessing a heptad of dwellings" (Dumont).

b) *The Nuzu names*:

13. *Aitara*, 5 at least⁽²⁾, among whom a scribe.

NPN, 198 *a-i-it-ta-ra*, *a-i-it-ta-a-ra*, *a-it-ta-ra*, *a-i-da-ra*, *at-ta-ra*, = Ind. *aitarā*, "son of *Itarā*, son of an *Itarā*"; *itarā* means "other, the other" or a "genius" and according to *Sāyaṇa* is the name of the mother of the sage *Aitareya*. In any case *aitara* as a word exists and may be patronymic; cf. *Pāṇini* 4, 2, 75 and *Gaṇapāṭha* 236 (Dumont).

14. *Ambizina*.

NPN, 200, 276 *Am-bi-zi-na* = Ind. *ambi-jīva*, "helping, favoring, refreshing his mother" or less probably Ind. *ambi-jīna*, "victorious by his mother", or possibly *abhi-jīna* (?) = *abhijīt*, "victorious" (Dumont).

15. *Artamna*, 2.

NPN, 205, 233 *ar-ta-am-na* = Ind. *ṛtā-mna*, "devoted to the divine law, observ-

⁽¹⁾ W. F. Albright, (*BASOR*, 93, p. 16, n. 1) remarks, "This king *Surattarna* may be identical with the earliest Mitannian king hitherto known, (*Ś*utarna (*máṛ...*) *dirta*, who ruled in the early fifteenth century... The dissimilation of *r* in a name possibly pronounced something like *Śrtarna* would not be surprising".

⁽²⁾ Here and elsewhere in treating the Nuzu names we say "at least" for, although in certain tablets the respective names may occur without further specification, we are not sure if they do or do not refer to persons of the same name in other tablets, who are specified by indications of family relationships.

ing the divine law" ($\sqrt{mnā}$) or Ind. *rta-manas*, "of truthful mind" (Dumont); ep. a) 3.

16. *Attasāma* or *Attaśāma*.
NPN, 208, 250 *at-ta-aś-śa-ma* = I. A. ? *āptā* - I. E. ? *sāman*, "having gained wealth".

17. *Auassūra*, 1 at least, a judge.
NPN, 208, 260 *A-ú-a-śu-ra*, (*A-ú*)-*a-ś-śu-ra* = Ind. *avaś-śūra*, "the hero of help" or Ind. *avo-śūra* (*avaś-ásura*), "the divine spirit of help" (Dumont).

18. *Audurta*, 1 at least.
NPN, 208 *A-ú-du-ur-ta* = I. A. ? perhaps Vedic *ava-dhūrta*, i.e., *ara*, "herab" or "zu", and *dūrta*, a substantive, "schlau, betrügerisch" (Bonfante, *ibid.*).

19. *Aśuzana* or *Asuzana*.
NPN, 206, 276 *Aś-śu-za*-na*, *Aś-śu-uz** *za*-na** = Ind. *āśu-jana*, "whose men are swift" (Dumont).

20. *Bardaśwa*. 4 at least, among whom one is called *mar śarri*, "son of the king".
NPN, 243 *Bar-ta-su-a*, var. *Bar-ta-zu-a*, *Bar-ta-aś-su-a*, *Bar-ta-su-a-a*, *Bar-ta-śu-ú-a*, *Ba-ar-ta-su-a* = (?) Ind. *varddhāśra*, "son of *vrddhāśra*" which means "having great horses" (Dumont).

21. *Bedarta*.
NPN, 205, 245 *Be-tar-ta* = Ind. *vedārtha* (*veda-artha*), "whose goal is the sacred lore", or Ind. *vedarta* (*veda-rta*), "whose truth is the sacred lore" (Dumont).

22. *Bedaśūra*, 1 at least, an envoy.
NPN, 245, 260 *Be-ta-aś-śu-ra* = Ind. *re-dāsura*, (*veda-ásura*), "the divine spirit of sacred lore" (Dumont).

23. *Birya*, 2 at least.
NPN, 245 *Bi-ri-a*, *Bi-ri-a-a* = Ind. *vīrya*, "valor, heroism", perhaps a hypocoristic on ?

24. *Biryaśūra*.
NPN, 245, 260 *Bi-ra-a-aś-śu-ra* = Ind. *vīryāśura*, (*vīrya-ásura*), "the divine spirit of valor" (Dumont).

25. *Biryatti*, 1 at least.
NPN, 208, 245 *Bi*-ri-at-ti*, *Bi-ri-a-at-ti* = Ind. *vīryāpta* (*vīrya-āpta*), "having attained valor" or Ind. *vīrya-āpti*, "the attainment of valor" (Dumont).

26. *Birazana*, 2, one being a son of *Śaimaśūra*.
NPN, 245, 276 *Bi-ra-az-zi-na*, *Bi-ra-az-za-na*, *Bi-ra-za-na*, *Bi-ri-az-za-na*, *Bi-ri-az-za-na* = Ind. *vīra-jana*, "whose men are heroes" possibly also Ind. *vīrya-jina*, "victorious by valor" (Dumont).

27. *Kalmaśūra*, 3.
NPN, 222, 260 *Gal-ma-aś-śu-ra*, *Kal-ma-aś-śu-ra*, *Kal-ma-aś-śu-ra*, *Qal-ma-aś-śu-ra* = Ved. *karma* (Albright, *ibid.*) — I. A. *śūra*, "hero of sacrifice" or Ind. *karmāśura* (*karma-ásura*), "the divine spirit of the sacrifice, of action" (Dumont).

28. *Namazzani* or *Namazani*.
NPN, 237, 276 *Na-ma-az-za-ni*, = I. A. *nāmya* (< $\sqrt{nam-}$)-*jani*, "of glorious birth, origin" (Bonfante, *ibid.*); while this is possible, another suggestion is *namo-jani* (*namas-jani*), "the source of veneration" (Dumont).

29. *Puruśa*, 5 at least.
NPN, 247 *Pu-ru-sa*, *Pu-ra-sa*, *Pu-ra-a-sa*, (*P*)*u-ru-ú-za* = I. A. *puruṣa*, "man" (Bonfante, *ibid.*; Dumont), or *purasa* = Ind. *pura-san* (nomin. *pura-sā*), "conquering strongholds" (Dumont).

30. *Śaimaśūra*, 1 at least, owner of a horse and father of a man called *Birazana*.
NPN, 249, 260 *Śa-i-ma-aś-śu-ra*, *Śa-mi-aś-śu-ra* = Ind. *kṣemāśura* (*kṣema-ásura*), "the divine spirit of peace or security" (Dumont).

31. *Sattavaza*.
NPN, 252, 270 *Śa-at-ta-ú-a-az-za*, *Śa-at-ta-ú-az-za*, *Śa-at-tu-ú-az-za*, *Śa-ad-du-a-az-za* = Ind. *sapta-vāja*, "(he who has) seven spoils" or "seven prizes (at the horse races)" (Dumont).

32. *Saušsatti* (¹), mayor of Attilu-

NPN, 249 and *HSS*, IX, 1 *Sa-uš-sa-at-ti* = Ind. *saušapti*, "the son of *susapti*", or *su-sapti*, "having beautiful horses, racers"; note that *sapti* means a racer, and confer R. V. *su-ašva*, "having excellent horses" (Dumont).

33. (?) *Sumala*.

NPN, 233, 258 *Šu-ma-la* = Ind. *su-māla*, "having a beautiful wreath", cf. the name *Sumalia* (Mir., 143); or is --- *malia* Hurrian (*NPN*, 233)?

34. *Sumātra*, 2 at least.

NPN, 234, 258 *Šu-ma-at-ra*, *Šu-ma-at-ra*, *Šu-mu-ut-ra* = Ind. *sumātár*, "having a good mother" as in the Rig Veda.

35. *Tuvšmana*, 3.

NPN, 233, 269 *Du-um-ši-ma-na*, *Du-uš-ma-na*, *Tu-uš-ma-na* = Ind. *tuvīš-manás*, "of strong mind." F. R. Blake has made the very plausible suggestion that the Accadian writing *um* reflects the semivowel ū; this semivowel is presumably found in the etymology of the word and so Dumšimana would be for Tuwšimana.

36. *Udazina* or *Utazina*, 1 at least.

NPN, 273, 276 *Ut-ta-zi-na*, *Ut-ti-za-na*, *Ut-ti-zi-na*; *Ut-ta-az-zi-na* = Ind. *ūti-jana*, "whose subjects are help, protection", or Ind. *ūta-jana*, "whose subjects are protected", — less probably Ind. *ūti-jina*, "victorious by the help (of the gods)" (Dumont).

37. *Warasama* or *Warasāma*.

NPN, 250, 275 *Wa-ra-ša-ma* (or *Wi-ra-...?*) = Ind. *rāra-sama*, "equal to the best", or Ind. *vāra-sāman*, "having excellent wealth, acquisition", though this is less probable (Dumont); another possibility is Ind. *rīra-sama*, "herolike" (Bonfante, *ibid.*, Dumont); cf. 16.

38. *Warautu*.

NPN, 274, 275 *Wa-ra-ū-tu(m)* = Ind. *vara-ūti*, "having excellent protection"; cf. the names *Warasama* and *Indarota*. The termination in *u* constitutes a difficulty here since the other endings *a* and *i* are otherwise so faithfully reproduced in the Nuzu names, but in the present case there may be a confusion on the part of the Hurrian scribe with the Accadian nominative ending.

39. *Wazi*, 2.

NPN, 270 *U-a-az-zi* = Ind. *vājin* (nomin. *vājī*), "victorious" (Dumont) or perhaps a hypocoristic on in connection with I. E. *rāja*, "prize, booty"; cf. 4, 31, 51.

c) The Syrian and Palestinian names:

40. *Abirata* or *Abiradda*, 2, fifth king of Babylon III; prince of Barga in Syria.

King List A, col. 1; *KBo*, III, 3 and passim *a-bi-rat-ta* (corrected from *a-bi-mar-ta*) = Ind. *abhi-rata*, "pleased, contented", or Ind. *abhi-rāddha*, "propitiated" (Dumont) or less probably Ind. *abhi-ratha*, "standing on his chariot, overcoming chariots" (Mir., 144).

41. *Aitagama* or *Aidakāma*, dynast of Kinza (Kadesh), brother (?) of Biryawāza.

EA, 53: 8, 11, 21, 28, 37, 60; 54: 22, 27 *a-i-ṭu-ga-ma*; 174: 11; 175: 9; 176: 9 *e-da-ga-ma*; 149: 30 (?); 151: 59 *e-ta-ga-ma*; 189: 2 *e-tak-ka-ma*; 56: 23, 27 *a-tak-ka-ma*; 140: 25 *i-ta-ka-ma*; 189: 20 *i-tak-ka-ma*; 197: 31 *i-ta-at-ka-ma* = Ind. *eta-gama*, "quickly going" (Mir., 175), "Scheckenreiter" (Kretschmer *apud* Fr., 145), "running like a deer, an antelope" or "having the gait of an antelope" (Dumont); Weber (*EA*, 1286) calls it Semitic.

42. (?) *Andāya*, dynast of Hazi.

EA, 175: 3 *an* (or *il* ?)-*da-a-ia* = ? This name is difficult to determine.

(¹) It is possible that this name may be better read as (") *sa-uš-ša-at-tar* in *HSS*, IX, 1, obv. 10 where it is difficult to distinguish the *ti* from *tar*. It would then be the same in form as *Saushsatar*, king of Mitanni, whose name also appears in the seal impression on the very same tablet; cf. E. Speiser, "A Letter of Shaushattar and the Date of the Kirkuk Tablets", *JAOS*, 49 (1929), p. 269.

43. *Ariwana*, king of Apina (= Upe)⁽¹⁾, possibly successor of Biryawāza.
BKSt., VIII, 1 obv. 43 "A-ri-wa-na" = Ind. *ari-vana*, "wishing for enemies", "conquering the enemies" or "having a forest of enemies" (Dumont).

44. *Artamanya*, dynast of Ziribashani.
EA, 201:3 *ar-ta-ma-an-ia* = Iran. *arta-manya*, Ind. *rta-manya*, "remembering, revering truth" (Mir., 171), "nach dem heiligen Gesetz strebend" (Fr., 145), "thinking of, remembering, revering the divine law" (cf. R. V. *punar-manya*) or "wishing for the divine law" (Dumont).

45. *Artaya*, 1 at least, a noble of Upe.
BKSt., VIII, 1 obv. 44 "Ar-ta-ja" = Ind. *rtayant* (nomin. *rtayan*), "observing the sacred law", or Ind. *rtayn* "observing the sacred law". (Dumont).

46. *Arzavīya*, a man of Ruhizzi.
EA, 53:36, 56; 54:26 (?), 31 (?) *ar-za-ū-ia* = Ind. *arjavya*, "straightness, honesty" (Mir., 172); although this is possible, another suggestion to be preferred is *ärjavīya*, "straight, honest" (Dumont). Weber (*EA*, 1114) claims it as Hittite.

47. (?) *Arzaya*, 2, a man of Șumur; probably a clan name.
EA, 62:67 *ar-za-ia*; 289:7 *mārē ar-za-ia* = Ind. *ari-jaya*, "conquering enemies" (Dumont). However, a Semitic derivation is at least possible.

48. *Bāyawa*, a prince in Syria (?).
EA, 215:3; 216:3 *ba-ia-wa* = Ind. *vāyava*, "given by Vāyu (the god of the wind)" or perhaps "the son of Vāyu (the god of the wind)" (Dumont).

49. *Birasēna*⁽²⁾, a patrician of Shechem, circa 1400 B. C.
F. Böhl, *ZDPV*, 49, p. 325 f. *Bi-ra-aś-še-n(a)* = Ind. *vīra-sena*, "possessing an army of heroes" (Dumont); compare, however, Birazzina, Birazzana (but Birazzana also) of Nuzu in 26.

50. *Biryasauma*.
KUB, XXXI 81, rev. 5 f. *Bi-ri-ia-śa-u-ma* = I. A. *vīrya-*sauma*, "(moon) god of valor" (Bonfante in *NPN*, p. 245); a preferred form would be Ind. *vīrya-soma* (Dumont); A. Goetze (*YOSR*, XXII, p. 7, n. 23) thought it Hurrian.

51. *Biryawāza*⁽³⁾, a prince in Upe.
EA, 7:75 *bi-ri-ia-ma-za*; 52:45 *bi-ru-a-za*; 53:54 *bir-ia-za*; 129:82; 151:62 *bir-ia-wa-zi*; 189:6 Rs. 2, 9, 25; 194:2; 195:4; 196:2; 197:17; 234:13, 26; 250:24 *bir-ia-wa-za* = Ind. *vīrya-vāja*, "(he who owns) the prize (or the booty) of valor" (Mir., 172, Dumont).

52. *Biridīya*, dynast of Megiddo.
EA, 242:3; 243:3; 244:3; 246:3; 248:19 *bi-ri-di-ia* = Ind. *vṛdhīya*, "increaser, causing welfare" (cp. *īśo-vṛdhīya*, "increasing vitality"); *biridi* = Ind. *vṛddhi* possibly, meaning "increase, growth, welfare, success" (Dumont).

53. *Biridāśva*, prince of Yanuamma.
EA, 196:41; 197:7, 15, 33 *bi-ri-da-aś-wa*, perhaps in shorter form in 56:16 *ta-aś-su* and 53:58 *da-śa* = Ind. *vṛddhāśva*, "one who owns a grown horse" (Mir., 173), "Kampfrosse besitzend" (Fr., 145), "possessing great horses"; cp. the name *bṛhad-āśva*, "possessing great horses" (Dumont).

54. (?) *Dāsarti*, a man in Amurrū,
EA, 126:76 *da-a-śar-ti-i* = Ind. (Ved.)

(¹) Apina is identical with the Upe (Api) region of the Amarna letters and indicates the country south of Homs towards Damascus; for parallels to the name cf. Hatti-Hattina, Kinahhi-Kinahna, etc. Cf. O. Weber, *EA*, II, p. 1110 f.

(²) W. F. Albright, "A Teacher to a Man of Shechem about 1400 B. C.", *BASOR*, 86 (1942), p. 30.

(³) In all but the first two of the listed occurrences of this name, the reading Namiawaza was formerly given. This must now be discarded for the present reading; cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, "Bir-ia-wa-za", *RA*, 37 (1940), p. 171 and his remark in *AfO*, 14 (1942), p. 142, "... in den Amarnabriefen ist *Bir-ja-wa-za* statt *Nam-ja-wa-za* zu lesen".

dāsa-rti, "enemy (lit. assault) of barbarians" (Mir., 187), "the pain, the enemy of the barbarians" (Dumont); the name, however, may be Egyptian; see Albright, *JNES*, V, 22 f.

55. *Devatti*, prince of Lapana.

EA, 53:35, 57; 54:27 (?), 32 (?) *te-ú-wa-ti* = Ind. *devatta*, "god-given" (R. V.) or Ind. *devāthiti* (*deva-athiti*), "guest of the gods" (Dumont). Mironov (*op. cit.*, p. 181) has doubtfully proposed Ind. *dyavātta*, "given by heaven".

56. *Indarota*, a chief of Akshapa.

Thurean-Dangin, *AO*, 7096, rev. 23 *en-dar-ú-ta*; *AO*, 7095, obv. 1 *in-tar-ú-da* = Ind. *Indrotá* (*indra-úta*), "upheld by Indra" (Dumont), "upheld, loved by Indra" (E. Sieg *apud* Mir., 174), "von Indra begünstigt" (Fr., 145).

57. *Yamibanda*, a prince of Taanach.

Taanach No. 3, rev. 13 "*Ya-mi-ba-an-da*" = Ind. *yami-bandha*, "connected with Yamin, bound to Yamin" (the controlling, restraining, ruling god; Yamin becomes Yami in composition), or Ind. *yami-bandhu*, "the kinsman of Yamin" (cf. *vasu-bandhu* and *deva-bandhu*), or Ind. *yami-vanda*, "praising Yamin"; cf. *deva-vanda* (Dumont).

58. *Yamiuta*, dynast of Guddashuna.

EA, 177:2 *ia-mi-ú-ta* = Ind. *yamy-úta* (*yami-úta*), "upheld, favored, protected by Yamin" (Dumont).

59. *Yaśdata* or *Wasdata*, a prince (?) in Palestine.

EA, 245:12, 15; 248:3 *ia-aś-da-ta*, = Avest. *yaza-dāta*, Ind. *yajadāta*, "given by the sacrifice" (Mir., 182); a preferred rendering of the Indic form is *yajñā-datta*, "given by the sacrifice", frequently a man's name (Dumont). A less probable derivation is Ind. **yāśodatta*, "given by the glory", (Scheil and Tallqvist *apud* Mir., *ibid.*).

60. *Mayarzana* or *Mayarzāna*, dynast of Hazi.

EA, 185:3, sender of 186, *ma-ia-ar-za-*

na = Ind. *māyārjana* (*māyā-arjana*) "acquisition of" or acquiring, procuring supernatural power", or less probably Ind. *māyārjuna* (*māyā-arjuna*), "bright by supernatural power" (Dumont).

61. *Patuzana*, a prince in Syria (?).

EA, 239:3 *ba-du-za-na* = Ind. *Paṭu-jana*, "the clever, cunning man" or "he whose men are clever, cunning" (Dumont).

62. *Purdāya*, a chief of Taanach.

Taanach No. 2; line 12 *Pu-ur-da-ia*, also probably in Letter No. 3, rev. 14 (.) *da-ia* = hypocoristicon of *Purdara* < Ind. *Puram-dara*, "cleaver of fortresses" (stem: *pur*, nomin.: *pūr*, acc.: *puram*, "fortress"), or Ind. *puram-jaya*, "conqueror of fortresses" or less probably Ind. *puru-daya*, "abounding in compassion" (Dumont).

63. *Ručmanya* or *Rusmanya*, dynast of Sharuna.

EA, 241:3 *ru-uṣ-ma-an-ia* = Ind. *ruci-manya*, "remembering, honoring light" (Mir., 177, Dumont), or *ruk-manya* (= *ruc-manya*), "honoring, revering light" (Dumont).

64. *Subandu*, a prince in southern Palestine,

EA, 305:4 *śu-ba-an-du*; 301:3; 302:4; 303:4; 306:3 *śu-ba-an-di* = Ind. *su-bándhu*, "having good relatives, kinsmen" (Dumont; Mir., 177, also adds "friends"), "edle Verwandte habend" (Fr., 145).

65. *Sumida* or *Sumitta*, perhaps identical with *Sumittarash*, chief of Carchemish (*BKSt.*, 3, 130, n. 2).

EA, 57:13 *śu-mi-it-ta*; 40:6 (*śu-mi-it-ti*) = Ind. *sumitra* or *sumitrya*, "having good friends" or Ind. *sumīḍha*, "bountiful, liberal"; *Sumīḍha* is the name of a man in the Rig Veda (Dumont). Another suggestion is Ind. *sumēḍha*, "of good understanding, wise" (Mir., 178).

66. *Śunaśūra*, king of Kizwatna.

KBo, 1, 5; *BKSt.*, VIII, pp. 88 ff. *Śu-na-áś-śú-ra* = Ved. *śuna-* Ind. *śūra*, "the hero to (of) prosperity" (A. Goetze)⁽¹⁾, or *śunāśura* (*śuna-ásura*), "the divine spirit of prosperity" (Dumont).

⁽¹⁾ A. Goetze, "Sunassura — an Indian King of Kizwatna", *Oriental Studies in honour of Dasturji Saheb Cursetji Erachji Parry*, Oxford (1934), pp. 127-129.

67. *Sudarna* or *Sutarna*; dynast of Mušhuna, perhaps the father of Biryawāza (cf. 9).
EA, 182:2; 183:3; 184:4 *šu-tar-na* = derivation as in 9.

68. *Sutadara* or *Sutatara*, father of Aitagama of Kadesh.
BKSt., VIII, 1, 40 *"Šú-ta-tar-ra* = besides the derivations offered in no. 10, another would be Ind. *sūta-tāra*, "protector of the charioteers", the word *tāra* meaning "carrying across, saviour, protector" (Dumont).

69. *Sutatna* or *Sūtatna*, son of Zurata, dynast of Accho.
EA, 8:19, 38 *šu-ta-at-na*; 233:4; 234:3; 238:23 (?) *za-ta-at-na*; 235:5 *zi-ta-at-na* = in the case of *sutatna*, Ind. *sūta-tana*, "to whom an offspring has been born" (Mir., 179, Dumont), or Ind. *sūta-tana*, "son of a charioteer" (Scheil *apud* Mir., *ibid.*, Dumont); in the case of *zatatna*, Ind. *jāta-tana*, "to whom an offspring has been born"; in the case of *zitatna*, Ind. *jitātman* (nomin. *jitātmā*), "self-subdued" (Dumont).

70. *Sicardāta*, 2, a man of Shechem; a prince of Hebron (?).
F. Böhl *ZDPV*, 49, p. 323 *Su-ar-datta*⁽¹⁾; *EA*, 271:12; 278:4; 279:4; 280:4; 281:5; 283:3, 32; 284:2 *šu-wa-ar-da-ta*; 290:6 *šu-ar-da-tum*; 290:7 *mā(r) šu-ar-d)a-ti* = Ind. *sūvardata*, "given by the sun" (Mir., 171), "vom Sonnengotte gegeben" (Fr., 145); Ind. *svar-datta* or *svar-dāta*, "given by heaven" (Dumont).

71. *Sicatiti* or *Sicaditi*, a man of Alalakh⁽²⁾.
^{ATT/8/47} *Šu-ra-ti-ti* = perhaps Ind. *srathiti*, "having good guests" (Dumont).

72. *Tsirtamyāṣṭa*, a subject of Biryawāza.
EA, 234:11, 25 *zi-ir-dam-ia-aš-da* = Ind. *zṛda-myazda*, "one who makes an offering of the heart" (Mir., 183); Ind. *hr̥dam-yaṣṭa* (nom.- *yaṣṭā*), "making an offering of the

heart" may be doubtfully proposed (Dumont).

73. *Tsitriyara*, a prince (?) in Syria.

EA, 211:3; 212:2; 213:3; *zi-it-ri-ia-ra*; 214:11 (?) *zi-it-ra-ia-ra* = Ind. *citryarai* (Nom. *rās*), cp. R. V. *bṛhad-rayi*, "having brilliant property" (Dumont), or Iran. *cipra-yāra*, "one who owns multifarious crop" (Mir., 183), but this is not to be admitted easily.

74. *Urudīti*, king of Hurri, early sixteenth century B. C.

2 *BoTU*, Hft. 1, p. 36 *ú-ru-ti-id-ti* = Ind. *uru-dīti*, "having wide splendour" (Albright, *BASOR*, 78, p. 30, Dumont).

75. *Uwakazaniya*, king of Hurri, early sixteenth century B. C.

2 *BoTU*, 1, p. 36 *ú-va-ga-az-za-ni-ia* = perhaps Ind. *ojojanya* (*ojaś-janya*), "born of strength, child of energy" (Albright, *op. cit.*, Dumont).

76. (?) *Ucanti*, king of Hurri, early sixteenth century B. C.

2 *BoTU*, 1, p. 36 *ú-va-an-ti* = perhaps connected with Ind. *āti*, "help, protection" (Albright, *op. cit.*, Dumont).

77. *Wāmpadura*. a noble of Upe.

BKSt., VIII, 1 obv. 44 *"Ū-a-a(m-b)a-du-ra* = Ind. *vāma-pāṇdura*, "fair and pale", "pale and yet handsome" (Dumont).

78. *Wīḍya*, dynast of Ascalon,

EA, 320:5; 321:5; 322:4; 323:3; 324:4; 325:3; 326:3; *wi-id-ia*; *Fragment* *370 (cf. C. Gordon, *Orientalia*, 16 [1947], pp. 4, 5) *"i-ti-ia* = Ind. *vīḍya*, "strong" perhaps; cf. *vīḍayati*, "to make strong" in the Rig Veda (Dumont); or perhaps Ind. *vedya*, "famous, to be known" (Mir., 182, and Dumont).

(¹) W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 86 (1942), p. 29, gives this variant reading viz. *"Su(!)-ar-da(?)-ta* for Böhl's former *Zu-ar-zi-pak*.

(²) S. Smith, *op. cit.*, *Antiquaries Journal*, p. 45, calls this name Hurrian. Albright, however, has noticed its Indic character.

79. *Zurāšar*, dynast of Ginti-ashna.
EA, 319: 4 *zu-ra-šar* = possibly Ind. *su-rāstra*, "having good dominion" (Mir., 184, Dumont).

80. *Zurata*, dynast of Accho, father of Sutatna.
EA, 8: 19 *ša-ra-a-tum*; 85: 21; 232: 3; 245: 24, 31, 41, 43 *zu-ra-ta* = Ind. *su-rātha*,

"one who owns a good chariot" (Mir., 184, Dumont).

81. (.....) *tar*, grandfather of Biryawāza of Upe.
EA, 194: 10 (.....) *tar* --- compare Saušsatar, Paršasatar, etc.

Although it is readily to be conceded that a certain amount of conjecture underlies such attempts to identify with precision these eighty-one personal names (¹), since most of the derivations are hypothetical, still there is no denying that the majority of cases provides us with names unmistakably Indo-Aryan in character. This much at least seems clear from our study thus far. Before drawing any further conclusions from these names, however, it is best to survey the additional evidence pointing to Indo-Aryans in Upper Mesopotamia at this time. The most obvious material is found in the occurrence of Aryan deities such as the name *Suriaš* = Ind. *surya*, "sun" among the Cassites in the sixteenth century, not to dwell on other less certain names such as *Šumalia*, a mountain goddess, or *Marutaš* a wind (?) god. In the famous treaty between the Hittite ruler Suppiluliumas and Matiwāza of Mitanni (c. 1350) the latter invokes the Vedic deities *Mitra*, *Indra* (²), *Varuna*, who is the demiurge and the greatest of the *ásuras* (³) (guardians of the truth), and the *Násatyas*. It is possible also that the Indic fire-god *Agni* is mentioned in the Hittite texts. From the study of personal names we have strong evidence that worship was paid not only to Indra but also to *Vāyu* (the god of the wind), to *Svar* (heaven), to *Soma*, to the *Devas* (the gods, the shining ones), and to *Rta* (the divine Law). Evidence, even though weaker, is had also for the deities such as the *Vasus* and *Yamin*. In any case we are shown a developed Vedic religion in the west at an early period. Of place-names, it is not impossible that *Waššukkani*, the name of the capital of Mitanni, is of Indic origin, while others more doubtful, e. g. as proposed by Mironov (*op. cit.*, *passim*), need not detain us here. In a Hittite

(¹) Possibly the name *Šaumati* (written *Sa-a-ú-[um]-ma-ti* and *Ša-a-ú-mati* in unpublished Harvard tablets; registered erroneously as *Šajum-mati* in *NPN*, 122b) may also be Indo-Aryan, meaning "Offspring of Sumati". It appears as the name of four different women. The element *mati*, however, is Hurrian, and *šajum*, etc. is otherwise unknown. Cf., however, the Hurrian name *Šaumšien* above on p. 44.

On the other hand, one will be cautious in accepting M. Noth's statement (*ZDPV*, 65, 1942, p. 54, followed by R. de Langhe, *Textes de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et leurs rapports avec le milieu biblique de l'Ancien Testament*, II Paris, 1945, p. 338) that "sich indo-iranisches Gut in den Personennamen von Ugarit nicht zu finden scheint". Without being dogmatic, we may suggest for comparison with our own list the following personal names from Ras Shamra: *Arsw* (Ch. Viroilleaud, *RA*, 37, 1940-41, p. 21, Text V, 2), *Arewn* (*ibid.*, V, 10) and *arsw* (Ch. Viroilleaud, *Mémorial Lagrange*, Paris, 1940, p. 42, II, 14) — cp. our no. 46; *Artyn* (Viroilleaud, *RA*, *loc. cit.*, VI, 4) — cp. our no. 45; *Brzn* (Viroilleaud, *ibid.*, I A, 17; III, 6; *Mém. Lagr.*, *loc. cit.*, I, 10) — cp. our nos. 26 and 49; also perhaps *Ptžn* (Viroilleaud, *Mém. Lagr.*, I, 17) — cp. our no. 61. M. Noth notes how the elements **ars-* and **pad-* are employed in these names and shows how the foreign elements are treated in Canaanite fashion; cf. Noth, *op. cit.*, p. 65 and also p. 146, n. 2. In this connection the gentilic *arty* (Viroilleaud, *RA*, 37, *op. cit.*, XII, 3) is of especial interest.

(²) Václav Machek, "Name und Herkunft des Gottes Indra", *Archiv Orientální*, XII (1941), pp. 143-154.

(³) L. de la Vallée-Poussin, "Indo-européens et indo-iraniens", *Histoire du Monde*, III, Paris (1924), p. 80.

treatise on horse-training, attributed to a certain Kikkuli of Mitanni, the technical expressions for the laps of a race are Indic, as *1 aika*, *3 tera*, *5 pañca*, *7 satta*, *9 nava* (¹), and these numerals are always combined with the word *vartana* for "turn"; the word *vasanna* can safely be taken to mean a stadium. Moreover, the military class of nobles in the Mitanni kingdom is called *maryannu*, an Indo-Aryan word meaning "young man, warrior" (²). In fact, if we care to follow Eduard Meyer in this, we may see these Aryans in reliefs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, along with captive Semites and Hittites, as a distinct type with more finely drawn features and a high-vaulted skull (Fig. 18) (³).

The Mitannian Symbiosis.

From all the foregoing considerations of this chapter two facts stand out most clearly: *first*, that the geographical distribution of the Indo-Aryans, from the 16th to the 13th centuries B. C., is, roughly speaking, coextensive with that of the Hurrians, namely, from east of the Tigris across the Fertile Crescent with a strong concentration in Palestine and northern Syria, reaching up even into Anatolia; *second*, that these Indo-Aryans, though comparatively few in number, form the upper stratum of Mitannian society, since in Mitanni proper they are kings or high officials (⁴), and elsewhere, especially to the west, they are invariably local princes and nobles, as our sources show. It is most striking that a number of royal Mitannian names recur in the west, for example, *Sudarna* is dynast of *Mušihuna*, *Sutadara* is father of *Aitagama*, and (.....)tar, the name of *Biryawāza*'s grandfather, hints at a close resemblance to such names as *Paršasatar* and *Saušsatar*. *Šūradarna*, if he was not a king of Mitanni, was certainly some local king. It is very tempting to see even a family relationship of these western rulers and nobles with the royal house of Mitanni but such a step would be rather venturesome in the present state of our knowledge. That this situation could exist, of course, appears from some indications that *Aitagama* was a brother of *Biryawāza*, himself a chieftain and perhaps the son of *Sudarna* of *Mušihuna*. In other words, evidence may yet prove that these Indo-Aryans strove to achieve a well-knit organization by maintaining their dynasty both in the direct and collateral lines, a thing otherwise not unknown and most credible in view of the marriage of Mitannian princesses to cement friendship with Egypt. In short, strong government through the radiation of centralized power seems indicated.

In any event, we are presented with this striking and peculiar social complex whereby the Hurrians, forming the bulk of the population, live together with a mixture of Assyrians, Elamites, Cassites, the early Aramaeans and other ethnic groups under the sway of an Aryan upper class (Figs. 19, 20). For example, the early Hurrian kings of the early sixteenth century B. C. are called by the Indo-Aryan names *Uruditi*, *Uwakazaniya*, and *Uwanti*. We have already learned (pp. 53 ff.) that after the Hyksos age Hurrian names abound in Syria and become frequent in Palestine, yet up and down the range of these regions, the Indo-Aryans are simultaneously present as the ruling class. Not to dwell on *Šunaššura*, king of Kizwatna to the north of Cilicia.

(¹) For the Sanskritist: *eka*, *tri*, *pañca*, *sapta*, and *nava*.

(²) Breasted, *AR*, II, 590; cf. p. 66.

(³) E. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, pp. 34, 102 ff. and plate I.

(⁴) Cf. p. 81, for the succession of the Mitannian and related kings.

we find in northern Syria *Sumida*, possibly a chief of Carchemish, *Abirata*, prince of Barga, *Sutatti*, a man in Alalakh, and *Patuzana*, *Bayaica* and *Tsitriyara*, all Syrian princes. Coming south near the lower Orontes, there are *Aitayama*, dynast of Kadesh, his father *Sutadara*, then *Dewatti*, prince of Lapana and *Biryavara*, prince in Upe, *Arivana*, prince of Apina (= Upe) with his associates *Wampadura* and *Artaya*, who are called *rabitšu*, while farther north on the coast the name of *Arzaya*, a man of *Şumur*, occurs. Still more to the south, in and near the Biqâ', there are *Andaya*, dynast of *Hazi*, *Biridashra*, prince (?) of *Yanuamma*, *Yamiuta*, dynast of *Guddashuna*, and *Mayarzana*, dynast of *Hazi*. Slightly more south again, we encounter *Zurata*, dynast of *Accho* on the coast, and *Sutatna*, his son, *Indarota*, chief of neighboring Akshapa, *Ručmanja*, dynast of Sharuna to the southeast, and, across the Jordan in the Hauron region, both *Artamanya*, dynast of *Ziribashani* and *Sudarna*, dynast of *Mušibuna*. In northern Palestine *Biridiya* is dynast of Megiddo, and at Taanach close by, both *Yamibanda* and *Purdaya*, a prince and chief respectively, are found. The Septuagint translation of the Old Testament preserves a tradition of Hurrians living in Gibeon (Jos. 9:7) and Shechem (Gen. 34:2), yet about 1400 B. C. a certain *Swardata*, and *Birasena*, who is a patrician, are found at Shechem. In southern Palestine, *Subandu* holds a principedom, *Widya* is dynast of Ascalon and elsewhere in Palestine, *Wašdāta* is also a prince. Nor with this enumeration are all our names exhausted. With regard to Nuzu, we cannot say as yet in detail just what the social status of the Indo-Aryans there was. Since the majority of the names listed are of witnesses in contracts of varied nature, it is to be presumed that they were at least citizens in good standing. In the case of a few, however, we have more specific information. *Auaššura*, for example, is a judge; *Bedašra* is an envoy (*sukallu*); *Bardašwa* is the son of a king (*mār šarri*); *Sauššatti* is mayor (*halzuḥlu*) of Attlu; finally, *Biryashura* serves as a witness in one case along with *Bardašwa*, which is of great significance for his rank. *Šaimaššura* owns a horse and this shows him to be of the knightly class. From such indications, it is evident that Nuzu in this respect presents a choice subject for further research. Strikingly enough also, most of the Indo-Aryans at Nuzu are close relatives of persons with Hurrian names, portraying once again how completely in the east, too, the fusion of the two peoples had been effected. As we look back, the fact that all the names of the princes and patricians in Palestine and Syria referred to above, as well as the names from Mitanni and Nuzu, are of Indo-Aryan origin, points most clearly, in the light of our survey of the Hurrians, to the historical reality of the Indo-Aryan and Hurrian symbiosis as we have characterized it thus far.

Yet a rigid class system did not prevail for it was a thorough-going symbiosis. That is to say, not only was there an Aryan patrician stock ruling over Hurrians and other ethnic minorities, but even within the ruling class itself, Hurrians were to be found. This is illustrated not only by the fact that two of the Mitannian princesses bore the Hurrian names *Kelu-Khepa* and *Tatu-Khepa* (cp. *Pudu-Khepa*, the name of the queen of Khattusilis III, 1290-1250 B. C.), but also by the fact that Hurrian names are found among rulers, as in the case of *IR-Teshup*, who was, like *Abirata*, a prince of Barga. A most remarkable parallel to just such a situation was noted (p. 55) in the case of the royal Hittite families. This same point will be further confirmed in regard to Mitanni when we treat presently of the *maryannu* rank. It remains true in most part, however, that the Indo-Aryans were the main governing element in this extraordinary symbiosis. Since such are the facts of the case, it behooves the historian to inquire

into the nature of this community of life and, if possible, to account for its origin and development.

The Mitanni state was at least semi-feudal in character. This statement will be borne out if we study the class called *maryannu*, a term which may now be probably regarded as derived from the Vedic *marya*, "youth, warrior", in the plural *maryās*. The term in question is based presumably on the accusative plural *máryān* with the Hurrian suffix *ni*. In the Rig-Veda the *maryās* appear as retainers of Indra, always in chariots with the war-god; historically both Egyptian and Hittite texts, from the 15th century and after, make it clear that the term can only mean much the same thing, viz., "chariot-warriors" (1). With the mass introduction of the domesticated horse, the "eastern ass" (*ANŠU.KUR.RA*) by the eighteenth century, it cannot have been long before chariotry followed upon initial domestication. Chariotry is found well established at the period we are treating, and its introduction must have totally revolutionized the science of warfare. Contemporary reliefs at Abydos show us swift chariots with spoked wheels (Fig. 21) (2). Such extreme mobility, whether on the march or in battle, as this vehicle could afford, coupled with the striking power of an archer and driver, as among the Egyptians and Assyrians, or with an added shield-bearer, as among the Hittites and their allies (Fig. 22) (3), must have given a decided edge over the opposing infantry, comparable to the spearhead thrusts of armored units in our own day. The evident need for maintaining such ready forces in Mitanni was bound to have its social repercussions. The *maryannu* thus became a patrician class, men of rank and means, who could support a chariot and two horses at least — the former being much more expensive (4) — and who could be called for service to the crown in any emergency. That the *maryannu* did form a very definite social class is now established beyond any doubt, for a document from Alalakh (5) tells how Niqmepa, its king, by a juridical act, "as from this day forth... has released Qabia to (be a) *mariannu*. As the sons of *mariannu*— men of the city-state Alalah (are), so also are Qabia and his grandsons in perpetuity...". This text also reminds us that one did not have to be an Aryan to be admitted into the free *maryannu* class, since the name *Qabia* here, and others such as *Hišmiya*, *Niruwa*, *Zulkiya*, etc., pointed out by Gustavs (6), are Hurrian, and so, as suggested above, the class barriers were not rigid ethnic distinctions (7).

(1) Thus Albright, "Mitannian *maryannu*, 'chariot warrior' and the Canaanite and Egyptian equivalents" *AfO*, VI (1930-1931), pp. 217-21; cf. also H. Winckler, *OLZ*, XIII (1910), pp. 291-300.

(2) Cf. E. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, plate IV; also the chariot now in the Museo Archeologico, Florence; Breasted, *HE*, p. 234, fig. 105.

(3) W. F. Albright, *op. cit.*; E. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, pp. 44. ff.

(4) Cp. 1 Kgs. 10:29 "And a chariot of four horses came out of Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty".

(5) S. Smith, *Antiquaries Journal*, *op. cit.*, p. 43: (2) *iš-tu u(d)-mi an-ni-i-im* (3) (m) *Qa-bi-ia* (4) *a-na ma-ri-ia-an-na wa-šar-šu* (5) *ki-me-e mare* (pl) *ma-ri-ia-an-nu* (6) *ša* (al) *A-la-la-ah KI* (7) *u* (m) *Qa-bi-ia qa-tam-ma* (8) *mar ma(r)-ri-šu a-na da-ri-ia*.

(6) Gustavs, "Eigennamen von *marjannu*-Leuten", *ZA* (N. F.) 2, (1925), pp. 197 ff. We find it difficult to admit with Gustavs the conclusion that, since the names of certain *maryannu* were not Aryan, the appellative *maryannu* itself consequently could not be of Aryan derivation.

(7) The largest tablet which has been found at Ras Shamra is most interesting in the present connection and has been published by Ch. Virolleaud, "Un état de soldé provenant d'Igarit", *Mémorial Lagrange*, Paris (1940), pp. 39-49. On both the obverse and reverse sides it is divided into three columns, and though only half of it is preserved, it contains some eighty names of individuals according to eight cate-

From the existence of such a class alone one might be led to infer that a feudal system of society prevailed in the Mitanni kingdom. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the *maryannu* could long serve the crown without holding land. This seems most reasonable, for we find a striking parallel in the fact that about the year 735 A. D., in order to offer effective opposition to the Moslems, Charles Martel organized among the Franks a body of cavalry by greatly enlarging the number of those who could afford such equipment as this new rank and service required. For this purpose he made grants of land to them and thus took the initial step toward medieval feudalism, the chief characteristic of which was land tenure on the part of a lower vassal in dependence on and in return for military service to a higher lord (1). Furthermore, in converse order, unless these *maryannu* did hold their land from the crown, they could scarcely have been so thoroughly bound to render such service. It seems quite clear therefore that the *maryannu* class as a proved social rank, dedicated to no slight service to the state, was the natural occasion for the emergence of a feudal society.

Yet still other features of life indicate that such a conclusion is not to be gainsaid. In contrast to the *maryannu*, there seems to have been another group, only semi-free, called "khupshu" or *awélüt hupši*, as in the Amarna letters, who, while not slaves, were nevertheless attached to the soil (2), a condition which could easily degenerate into abject serfdom. However, they had their own houses and the power to sell their own children. It should be noted here, both in confirmation of and in contrast to the condition of the Canaanite *hupšu*, that the *hupši* of the Old Testament, in keeping with the Hebrew rejection of slavery, is a real *manumissus*, one freed from bondage or captivity. With regard to Nuzu, since the texts are mainly from the archives of private families, they must necessarily be of a restricted character, and although mere exterior court procedure and administration appear clearly enough, still it will be long before scholars can discern the entire pattern of the Nuzu law code from the piecemeal data at

gories in which they serve the king. Alongside their names is indicated the amount of pay which is given to them. The last group is called *khnm*, and the first, the largest group of all, is called *mrynm!* Of the latter, some thirty-eight names are clearly legible or else can be restored with confidence; of these approximately a third is Semitic, and the rest are mixed or otherwise largely obscure. Among them we have suggested (cf. above p. 63, n. 1) the names *Arsw*, *Artyn*, *Brzn*, and (perhaps) *Ptžn* for comparison with Indo-Aryan names. Linguistic affinities seem to hold in the same proportion, roughly, for the names of the other groups or corporations. The use of the term *mrynm* seems to indicate nothing regarding its etymology nor regarding the precise service rendered by the group in question. Its only claim to distinction is that it is listed first and is more numerous than the others, but the latter have average pay, no less than that of the *mrynm*. The *mrynm* are followed by a group of four called *bdl. mrynm*. Evidently we must await further light on Ras Shamra to see just how these *mrynm* fit into the general picture of our present study.

(1) This parallel was pointed out by Dr. Sidney Painter of the Johns Hopkins University; cf. also Christian Pfister, "Gaul under the Merovingian Franks", *Cambridge Medieval History* II, Ch. IV, p. 129 and Ch. V, p. 154.

(2) I. Mendelsohn in his paper, "The Canaanite term for 'Free Proletarian'", *BASOR*, 83 (1941), pp. 36-39, after discussing the term in question as it appears in the Amarna letters, the Assyrian law-code, late Assyrian texts, one Ugaritic text and the Old Testament, concludes that "the *awélüt hupši* were not serfs, but free-born *coloni* standing between the small class of land-owning aristocracy (*awélu*, *maryannu*, *ba'al*) and the equally small class of slaves (*ardu*, *'ebd*)". E. R. Lacheman (*BASOR*, 86, p. 36 f.) has found three occurrences of the term *hupšu* in the Nuzu texts, and in each case it means "weaver" and so cannot mean *colonus*, or tenant-farmer, as Mendelsohn would understand it. In any case, the expression "semi-free" seems to fit every occurrence of the word.

hand. And yet, further evidence of a feudal system seems quite apparent from a study of the documents *ana mārūti*, "for adoption into sonship", since some were real but others only apparent or sale-adoptions. It was not permitted to let property, which was held in fief from the ruler, pass beyond a male member of one's own family. Since, however, private property was or became a *de facto*, if not a *de iure* practice, the law was circumvented by adopting the prospective purchaser as a brother or son. This is clear from the fact that the adopted "child" often presents a *q̄istu*: "gift", in reality the purchase price, to the new parent, and an *ilkū*⁽¹⁾ clause, i. e., of feudal service, is inserted into the contract — two elements, in short, entirely out of place in a real adoption. Theoretically, of course, land tenure was strictly watched, and inheritance was greatly stressed with religious sanctions, whereby the heir was constituted, as in the Accad period, "first libator" in funerary rites for the deceased, an inalienable function, which thus tended to retain property within the family.

All in all, the evidence presented in the last few pages makes it inescapable that the Mitanni kingdom was at least semi-feudal in character and that it assumed this character in much the way portrayed. Should one now ask how it came to be that the Indo-Aryans held the dominant role in this symbiosis, though well in the minority, we must answer that they represented a group stronger than the Hurrians in the sense of being the politically active factor in this partnership. Thanks to their introduction of the horse, and the revolutionizing of warfare through the horse-drawn chariot, they gained directly the upper hand in the destinies of the Hurrians and other peoples. Furthermore, this is easily credible in view of the fact that the earliest examples of weapons forged in iron may be attributed to the Mitannians⁽²⁾. One is prone to think of the Indo-Aryans rather than the Hurrians in this connection. Thus, throughout its development the Mitanni state had Indo-Aryans as its ruling stock and as the main component of its knightly class — a whole upper stratum, hard to dislodge, being imposed on the masses of Hurrians and other peoples to form an unusual symbiosis.

3. The Indo-Aryan Problem.

Up until the present the main interest in the Indo-Aryans has been their unique position in the Mitanni kingdom and the type of society that evolved there for them and the Hurrians. Now we shall turn to consider what further conclusions should be drawn regarding the Indo-

(1) Cp. the Aramaic ՚𠁼 “impost”. In regard to contracts containing an *ilkū* clause, Dr. Hildegard Lewy maintains their purpose is not to circumvent the law but rather to ensure greater dependence of the tenant on the crown, inasmuch as he was to hold the land until his own death, upon which it passed into the hands of the adoptive son. Now this latter was in reality a royal officer, whose *q̄istu* had in the meantime represented a royal grant to the feudal tenant. Thus upon the latter's death the land was bound to revert to the crown. Such a view, however, though quite ingenious, is meeting strong opposition and the theory of sale-adoptions as held by E. Speiser and P. Koschaker finds greater favor among students of the Nuzu texts; cf. H. Lewy, "The Nuzian Feudal System", *Orientalia*, 11 (1942), pp. 1-40, 209-250, 297-349. For further opposition to Dr. Lewy's views and for greater clarification of Nuzu real estate law, cf. P. M. Purves, "Commentary on Nuzi real property in the light of recent studies", *JNES*, IV (1945), pp. 68-86; also P. Koschaker, "Drei Rechtsurkunden aus Arrapha", *Z.A.*, 48 (1944), pp. 161-221.

(2) Cf. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, Paris (1939), pp. 116 ff.

Aryans alone, that is, when did they make their entry into Mesopotamia and, especially, who were they, Indians, Iranians or as yet undifferentiated Aryans (Indo-Iranians)?

The date of their invasion must have been considerably before the time of the Mitanni power at its height, since such a state could not have been built overnight. If we turn to consider the introduction of the horse, it is significant that it finds no mention in the code of Hammurabi (c. 1690). To the west, however, chariotry on a small scale was already known in the 18th century, as the records of Mari (see p. 26) and Chagar Bazar (see p. 28) clearly show, while not much later, about 1550 B. C., Indo-Aryan names appear in early Hittite texts. Since our earliest terminology dealing with horses bears a distinctly Aryan stamp, as pointed out above, it is logical enough to conclude that it was the Aryans who adapted them to the chariot, and in the light of the evidence adduced, this must have taken place early in the 18th century (1). However, since in the time of Babylon I, Mari was still predominantly Semitic, and even more so; both Palestine and Syria, we cannot claim there was a sizable invasion of the Indo-Aryans into Mesopotamia until the 17th century, driving the Hurrians and Cassites before them into Mesopotamia and Babylon respectively (2). This seems the only explanation that will square with all the evidence. The suggestion made by Friedrich (3) that the Indo-Aryans of the Amarna age are only vestigial hints of a people already culturally and linguistically assimilated to their neighbors seems acceptable only if it does not posit so great a mass of people or so slow a rate of assimilation as would contradict the evidence collected in this chapter.

In connection with the time of this Indo-Aryan irruption it would appear desirable to treat also of the geographical route these invaders followed into Mesopotamia. Since, however, this problem may be said to hang together with the much larger one of the original home of the Indo-Europeans, about which there is still so much uncertainty (4), we shall not try to decide here whether it was via the Hellespont, the Caucasus, Turkestan or by any other path that these people came into the Fertile Crescent. Yet, within the scope of our own study, it is important to emphasize that these personal names show there was an early wave of Indo-Aryans migrating into Mesopotamia several centuries in advance of an Iranian movement proper. This is a conclusion of great value which must be taken into account in any new investigation of those problems of more ample scope which are referred to here.

(1) Cf. Hanns A. Potratz, *Das Pferd in der Frühzeit*, Rostock (1939). In the first half of his book the author gives a thorough study of the horse in antiquity and in the second a detailed treatment of the treatise on horse-training by the Mitannian Kikkuli. For criticism and corrections of the first part see M. Wolff in *AfO*, 14 (1941-42), pp. 203-209; a lengthy review of the second part is given by F. Sommer in *OLZ*, 42 (1939), columns 621-634. See further H. A. Potratz, "Das Pferdegebisse des zwischenstrom-ländischen Raumes" *AfO*, 14 (1941-42), pp. 1-39 and the review of J. Wiesner's *Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im Alten Orient* by F. W. von Bissing in *OLZ*, 45 (1942), 386-392.

(2) That the early Hittites may also have introduced the horse is not impossible. A cylinder impression from Cappadocia represents a chariot drawn by four horses; cf. Ed. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, p. 23.

(3) J. Friedrich, *RLA*, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

(4) Three of the most favored suggestions have been those locating the Indo-Europeans in the Austro-Hungarian plains, about the Baltic Sea, and above the Black Sea in southern Russia, respectively. Each view has its arguments but all remain still in the realm of speculation. Is there a note of cynicism in the words of de la Vallée Poussin, "La doctrine de nos savants, malgré tant d'observations techniques sur la propagation des langues, est restée très proche de la tradition de la tour de Babel" (*op. cit.* p. 37)?

It is important at this point to ask if these peoples were Indian, Iranian, or as yet unseparated Indo-Iranians (Aryans). The name "Indo-Aryan" has been used consistently throughout these pages and it is now time to justify such usage. First and foremost, as the Mitannian-Hittite treaty attests, they worshipped the principal Vedic deities and observed Vedic cultic sacrifice; with them as with Vedic tribes, horse breeding and racing had reached a high stage of technical perfection (1). Again, the initial *s* (appearing in North-Mesopotamian as *š*) in personal names such as Subandu, Sudarna, etc., if Iranian, would probably already have suffered the phonetic shift to *h*: thus we should have **náhatiya* instead of *násatiya*. Finally, not only the term *maryannu* but also an examination of the personal names from Mitanni, Nnzu and Syro-Palestine (pp. 56-63) which are available so far, points to sources both Indic and Indo-Aryan. Ed. Meyer's contention that the names composed with *arta-* are specifically Iranian is best countered by Porzig's suggestion that the writing *ar* is the most natural cuneiform rendering for the initial Aryan vocalic *r*, thus *arta* = *rta* (2). On the other hand, however, it would be overhasty to attribute a completely Indic character to all the evidence since what is Vedic may easily be part of the common and earlier undivided heritage of the Indo-Aryans. Furthermore, a number of these personal names (cf. nos. 16, 28, 29, 44, 50, 59, 73, possibly also 18, and in part 27) seem capable of explanation also in the light of an Iranian background, as far as our present knowledge can judge (3), and most of them are located in Syro-Palestine. Hence, though most of the evidence indicates an Indic explanation, caution permits little more than the certain judgment that we have here to do with Indo-Iranians (undifferentiated Aryans), or, more probably still, with Indo-Aryans.

As is evident, the problems with which we have dealt briefly in this last section are in need of further elucidation. This they will receive when, it is hoped, further names of Aryan character become known and further details concerning Vedic religion and the introduction and the training of the horse in Mesopotamia are collected. The same holds true also for the topics presented in the preceding sections of this chapter. Our vastly increased knowledge of the Hurrians in latter years, and of the unusual symbiosis they formed with the Indo-Aryans, as depicted above, make one look forward to the full recovery of this phase of Mesopotamian history which, even now, has been so revealing of life within and beyond the borders of the Mitanni kingdom.

4. Cultural Aspects of the Mitanni Period.

An attempt to understand the Mitanni kingdom would not be adequate without a serious consideration of its many cultural aspects, both institutional and material. Already we have become acquainted with the semi-feudal nature of its social structure and with the main ethnic

(1) Prof. Dumont has suggested that either these Indo-Aryans may have not penetrated east into India, but stayed in Mesopotamia (and this would explain their early presence there) — or else that they may have first penetrated into India and then migrated westward again. This would explain the Vedic character of the Mitannian gods.

(2) Ed. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, p. 37, n. 1; Porzig *apud* Friedrich, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

(3) The reader is referred again, however, to the treatment of these names in the Appendix, where he may wish to modify our conclusions in accordance with II. Remarks, 2.

strains within it. If we look for corresponding indications of these features in the field of religion, quite a varied picture takes form, in general outline at least. Apart from the older Amorite deities which in large part were passed on to the Aramaeans, and the Indo-Aryan gods previously referred to, we are confronted with the Hurrian storm-god, Teshup, who, as such, was also adopted by the Hittites. Besides Teshup, other Hurrian divinities such as Shawushka, and Shimike (¹), the sun-god, are often referred to in the letter of Tuishrata. Khepa, the consort of Teshup, is a sun-goddess. She does not appear in the letter of Tuishrata but rather in Nippur texts of the Cassite period and also in the Boghazkoy archives, where she is identified with the sun-goddess of Arinna. One may ask therefore if she was not originally an Anatolian deity adopted in turn by the Hurrians. Both names, Teshup and Khepa, occur frequently in compound personal names from Nuzu to Jerusalem and Anatolia. Kumarpi (Kumarwe) is the head of the Hurrian pantheon, which was a most curious syncretism of many sources, especially Sumerian and Semitic (²). The two bulls, Sheri and Khurri, which supported Teshup, were held to be deities also, but other gods at present are largely just names to us and their functions were probably conceived to be no less fluid among the Hurrians than were those of other gods among other ancient peoples. Strange to say, Hurrian gods come more to the fore in Hittite texts than do the Hittite gods themselves (³).

If we turn to the realm of art, we find Teshup represented on a stele from Babylon (Fig. 23) (⁴) which betrays its western origin by its marked similarity to works of northern Syria (Fig. 24). Much of the so-called Hittite art has now been recognized to be really Hurrian. If this be so, such attribution to the Hurrians cannot be made to include, as so often maintained, the monumental relief art of the Tell Halaf orthostates, for these come at a period later than the Mitannian, as we shall show in the last section of chapter five. Rather, our chief recourse at this point is the study of glyptic art which, prevailing "in the northern part of Mesopotamia during the middle of the Second Millennium B. C. cannot be understood in a purely Mesopotamian context" (⁵). Apart from North-Syrian borrowings, the main motifs underlying the Mitannian

(¹) J. Friedrich in "Aus verschiedenen Keilschriften sprachen. 1-2," *Orientalia*, 9 (1940), pp. 211-218, has made clear that the reading *Ardini* for the Urartian sun-god is completely erroneous, and must be discarded for the reading **Si-ú-i-ni-(i-e?)* which is attested (*ibid.*, p. 215). He then goes on to show how this sun-god may be plausibly identified with the earlier Hurrian sun-god *Šimigi-*, the phonetic process having been **Šimigi(ni)-* > **Šigigi(ni)-* > **Šigijini* > **Šigini*. Thus, not only the storm-god Teshup but also the sun-god Shimige would have been common to Hurrians and Urartians.

(²) A. Goetze, *HCA*, p. 108; W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 160. Cf. also Hans G. Güterbock, *Kumarbi. Mythen vom churrithischen Kronos aus den hethitischen Fragmenten zusammengestellt, übersetzt und erklärt*, Zürich-New York (1946). See above p. 48, n. 1.

(³) Goetze, *ibid.*, p. 66 and in *KAO*, 3 Abt., 1, 3. pp. 124 ff.

(⁴) A. Moortgat, *Die bildende Kunst des alten Orients und die Bergvölker*, Berlin (1932), plates XLVII to XLIX. It is most interesting to compare these representations of the storm-god with the stele published by M. Dunand, "Stèle hittite à l'effigie de Adad-Teshoub", *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, IV (1940), pp. 85-92. Although the latter varies widely in dress and general appearance, nevertheless the essential identity of the storm-god is apparent, especially from the trident he holds aloft. The unmistakable Assyrian style of dress seems to Dunand to argue for a date within the first half of the ninth century B. C.

(⁵) H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, p. 182. For his study of the seals of this period cf. Sect. VI, Ch. III, "the Peripheral Glyptic from 1700 to 1200 B. C.", pp. 259-288 and plates XLII-XLIV. Cf. also Moortgat, *op. cit.*, plates X to XII, and A. Moortgat, *Vorderasiatische Rollseiegel*, Berlin (1940), plates 68 to 70 where, however, the seals selected are for a large part from Assyria.

style stem from the First Dynasty of Babylon. This is true in the Mitannian seals from Nuzu inasmuch as one of the two registers into which they are generally divided presents figures in bilateral symmetry. What is distinctively Mitannian, however, and finds no parallels in older Mesopotamian models are the stylized "sacred" trees, various small animals and the *guilloche*, or series of concentric circles, in the second register (Fig. 25). These elements derive ultimately from what Frankfort calls his Second Syrian group (1700-1350 B. C.), which is a class representing a style of greatest modification of, and even emancipation from, Mesopotamian themes. This independence is noted most in the seal of Saushsatar of Mitanni (c. 1460) (¹), which serves as a focal point for characterizing the group in question, since only a head with long locks depicted therein reminds us of older Mesopotamian art (Fig. 26). The winged sun-disk, which is most typical of Mitannian glyptic, and the 'nh symbol came by way of Syria from Egypt and the supporting "pillar of heaven" was an Indo-European legacy. Finally, an extreme *horror vacui* was shown in filling out the panel with all these details, resulting in a style that was popularized from northern Palestine to Persia (²). Direct borrowings from Egypt are not proved and purely Syrian themes are restricted so that one may say most significantly that in this respect there was a greater community of culture between Nuzu east of the Tigris and Alalakh in northern Syria, than between the latter and Palestine. In other words, we are dealing with an identical and fairly crystallized Mitannian culture, even though of mixed and strangely assorted elements.

This same impression is considerably strengthened if one turns to consider the pottery which the present writer here proposes to call "Mitannian ware" (³). This pottery has been known thus far as "Hurrian" ware (⁴), as "Aṭshāna", as "Nuzu" and finally as "Subartu" ware. No one of these four names is satisfactory because no one of them is sufficiently commensurate with both the geographical distribution (⁵) and the temporal duration of the ceramic types involved. The writer is as loath to render the problem more complex by suggesting a new name as he is aware of the pitfalls met with in relating a ceramic phase to any given people or, as here, state. Nevertheless, in the present instance, the two following facts merit attention: *first*, that this ware was found in eastern Mesopotamia at Nuzu, Level I, phase 2; at Billa III (Fig. 27); at Gawra I and II; in the Khabur region e. g., at Tell Brak (Fig. 29b); at Chagar Bazar I,

(¹) H. Frankfort, *ibid.*, plate XLII, a.

(²) For further examples and parallels cf. G. Contenau, "Les tablettes de Kerkouk et les origines de la civilisation assyrienne", *Babyloniaca*, IX, pp. 65-78; R. Starr, *Nuzi*, II, plates 118-119; C. Gordon, "Cylinder Seals in the Walters Art Gallery", *Iraq*, VI (1939), plate VI.

(³) While submitting here briefly his reasons for the introduction of this term, the author plans to present a more detailed paper on this pottery in the future. Further aspects of the problem, e. g., those of origins and chronology, particularly the apparently late appearance of the pottery at Assur, need further study.

(⁴) E. g., E. Speiser in the *Museum Journal* (Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1932-1933), XXIII, pp. 249 ff.; L. Woolley, *Illustrated London News*, Dec. 2, 1939, pp. 833 ff.; Cl. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, Paris (1939), p. 119.

(⁵) M. E. L. Mallowan, who proposed the term "Subartu" to indicate this pottery in his article "White-Painted Subartu Pottery", *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, Paris (1939), pp. 887-894, seemed to have satisfied the geographical requirements sufficiently well. However, as we have seen (p. 47), the term Subartu varied widely in its connotations and so seems to offer satisfaction neither geographically nor chronologically.

phase 4; in the region of the Balikh at Tell Jidle 2 and 3 and Tell Hammam, near the modern 'Ain el 'Arus (1), and again in the west at 'Aṭshâna II and III (Figs. 28-29 a); at Tell el Judeideh VI and Hama G; second, that an overall mean time limit for its continuance can be put at 1500 to 1350, with a margin left to the latter date. These two facts together point to the approximate coincidence, both geographical and chronological, of this pottery with the territorial extent and temporal duration of the Mitanni kingdom. Without referring to further conclusions which may follow from this coincidence, it is enough to point out here that the expression "Mitannian ware" thus appears to be a more reasonable, adequate and readily intelligible term to designate the ceramic material in question than any previous designation.

The Mitannian ware is especially characterized in form by the tall goblet (2), a vessel with thin walls and button base; the ringed base is also found. There are, too, deep bowls with rounded bases, varied types of flat dishes, bottles, bellied vases and single-handed vessels. In ornamentation a pleasing assortment of themes is painted in white on a black and, at times, on a red background. The motifs are quite naturalistic such as animal patterns of goats and fish, or of birds in flight. Often the tendency is towards stylization as in floral designs, rosettes, papyrus and double axes; it may also offer geometric representations as in running spirals, rectilinear tracing, dotted circles and finally the *guilloche* which was already noted in reference to the Mitannian cylinder seals.

When, besides the variety of form and ornamentation, one considers, too, that the Mitannian pottery is of good execution, consisting often of a fine grain, being turned on the wheel and pebble-finished, the general impression is one of no backward culture. Because of its delicate structure and association with royal buildings, it seems to have been a luxury ware (3). No matter how divergent and manifold may have been the origins of this Mitannian ware, it is in itself another striking example of the advanced and fairly integrated Mitannian culture between Nuzu and Alalakh.

Such artistic identity and isolation, however, are not matched in the matter of legal practice and social custom, for here an amazing similarity, even into detail, is found between Nuzu and Palestine of early biblical times. This strange contrast between art and *mores* is due undoubtedly to the fact that the artistic achievements sprang from a new and dynamic empire with new flourishing trade whereas the patterns of social custom were essentially the same since man first lived a communal life, and would remain unmolested by changing and ephemeral forms of state. Thus it is that both at Nuzu and in the Bible, a barren wife gives her handmaid to her husband to ensure offspring, or a son will toil, as Jacob in the house of Laban, for the hand of his future spouse; at Nuzu a man may have the right, if not also the duty, to marry the wife of his deceased brother, as in Genesis, and in both settings daughters may inherit directly when sons are wanting (4). Community responsibility and other points of contact are in evidence, even

(1) M. E. L. Mallowan, "Excavations in the Balikh Valley, 1938" *Iraq*, VIII (1946), pp. 111-159; especially see the chart on p. 139 and fig. 11, no. 10. For Tell Brak cf. *ibid.*, IX (1947), p. 20, pls. LXXVI-LXXVIII.

(2) Cf. Cl. Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, figures 105 and 106.

(3) M. E. L. Mallowan, *op. cit.*, *Mélanges Dussaud*, p. 893.

(4) The writer has collected a number of these cases in "Historical Parallels to Patriarchal Social Custom", *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly*, VI, 4 (1944), pp. 391-405, with useful references. Other examples have been cited above on pp. 30 ff.

though the larger aspects of society were feudal in Nuzu and patriarchal in Palestine — nor was anything very different to be expected, for the resemblances are found mostly in those usages where man as man was concerned. In this sense he overrides the barriers of time and space and is by nature a social being. Externally, no' matter where or when, he will manifest himself essentially the same.

The preceding pages have to some extent broadened our knowledge of the Mitanni kingdom, showing us the two main peoples, the Hurrians and the Indo-Aryans, who merged into a remarkable symbiosis in a feudal type of society, to give to this state its peculiar character. In this light the Mitanni kingdom takes up a unique position in the study of ancient Mesopotamia, all the more since at the same time it absorbed many divergent elements, as a glance at its varied religions and particularly its glyptic and ceramic art reveals. It remains now only to consider the strength and fortunes of Mitanni from a different perspective, that is, as a kingdom and a political state feeling the impact of the strength and fortunes of other kingdoms and states.

B) Its Foreign Relations.

1. Egyptian Intervention in Mesopotamia.

Ever since the dawn of the third millennium B. C. and earlier, we can trace throughout the breadth of the ancient Near East clear indications of mutual influences and a constant, if not always conscious, give and take of cultural and commercial goods between countries and peoples from Egypt to Babylonia. If we consider Egypt and Phoenicia, contact between the two was early, as objects from the First Dynasty found at Byblos (earlier Gubla) show. Excavations there have yielded Egyptian inscriptions going back to Nebka, the last king of the Second Dynasty and it is from this time that Byblos practically became an Egyptian colony which it remained until the collapse of the Memphite Empire under Phiops II of the Sixth Dynasty, hence from c. 2600 to c. 2200 B.C. At about this latter date the Canaanites had invented their own syllabic script based on Egyptian hieroglyphs and containing some eighty characters (1). Egyptian stone ware of the Third Dynasty, unearthed in a sanctuary at Ai and some Canaanite loan-words and pottery taken over by the Egyptians of the earliest dynasties give evidence of greater cultural exchange than we were able to suspect some twenty years ago. In the period of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties several invasions into Canaan are attested and Phiops I of the Sixth Dynasty had to suppress a number of violent rebellions there.

In the First Intermediate Period, when Egypt was weak and there was a sharp decline in the population of Palestine, much contact between the two lands is naturally not expected.

(1) For an excellent discussion of this whole topic of early Egyptian and Phoenician relations the reader is referred to W. F. Albright, "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Culture" (*Leland Volume*), Wisconsin (1942), pp. 15-21. For an initial attempt to decipher some Byblian syllabic writings see E. Dhorme, "Déchiffrement des inscriptions pseudo-hiéroglyphiques de Byblos", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, VIII, pp. 350-355, 472-479, 2 août et 27 septembre 1946. The author gives a short account of the method he followed, together with two translations of Tablets C and D respectively, having to do with Egyptian temple decorations. He assigns them to a date shortly before the reign of Amenophis IV (1370-1349, *sic*).

The Egyptian execration texts ⁽¹⁾ from the Twelfth Dynasty (c. 1989-1776 B. C.), however, show that the Pharaohs claimed dominion over Palestine and Phoenicia, and also bear testimony to the great Amorite irruptions of the early 20th century, for the names which occur are predominantly Amorite. Since these names are first of tribes and then of cities, they clearly attest to a period of rapid settlement in Palestine. From these texts, moreover, we may deduce that Byblos was ruled by a council of elders, not by princes, in the early 19th century and it may easily be that such a form of government was influenced by a similar type which has been verified in the case of the cities of the Egyptian Delta just a short time before ⁽²⁾. The excavations carried on at Ugarit and Qatna in Syria as well as at Byblos, not to mention previous discoveries, show that the period of the Twelfth Dynasty was one of actual domination over Palestine and Phoenicia by the Egyptians. It is from this same dynasty that we have the Sinuhe inscription which gives us the first reference to Palestine as "Retenu" ⁽³⁾. In turn, the reign of Sesostris II has left for us a scene of thirty-seven Asiatics who had migrated into Egypt about the year 1900 B. C. We are told also of an Egyptian expedition to *Skmm* (Shechem [!]), a locality somewhere in Syria, under Sesostris III ⁽⁴⁾. In view of the foregoing considerations we have come a long way from the days, a score of years ago, when it was thought that Egyptian life, though admittedly of a very high level in art and literature in the early third millennium B. C., was nevertheless largely self-contained and isolated from the criss-cross of Asiatic influences. Later, when Egyptian power had broken in the early eighteenth century, Palestine was freed once again from its influence even to the point of developing independently its own artistic themes in pottery and cylinder seals. But it did more than that. Its next period of large-scale contact with Egypt came about when the politically disrupted and economically ruined plight of the latter offered the perfect moment for the Hyksos to swarm down *en masse* upon the country and set up their rule at Avaris ⁽⁵⁾ in the northeastern Delta as capital. Since their name, which is correctly translated as "Rulers of Foreign Countries" ⁽⁶⁾, is a pure appellative, it reveals nothing about their ethnic origins; from the study of Hyksos nomenclature and comparative history, probability is lent to the conjecture that they were largely Semitic. The duration of their ascendancy we may put about 1720-1580 B. C. The whole Hyksos problem is still quite vexing ⁽⁷⁾ and information on

⁽¹⁾ See above p. 29, n. 5.

⁽²⁾ M. Dunand, *Mélanges Maspero*, I, pp. 567-571, and *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, pp. 30 and 158. For the latest brief reports on the excavations at Byblos, cf. M. Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, IV (1940), p. 117; V (1941), p. 87; VI (1942-43), p. 81.

⁽³⁾ Breasted, *AR*, I, 494; hereafter, unless otherwise indicated, the numbers will refer to paragraphs, not pages, in Breasted's work.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, 680.

⁽⁵⁾ Contemporaneous history hardly warrants the assumption made by Sidney Smith (*EHA*, p. 49) that Assyria about 1670 B. C. constituted a grave menace to the Hyksos at Avaris. That the Hyksos did not enter Egypt by gradual penetration into the land is emphasized by F. W. von Bissing in his trenchant review (*AjO*, 14, 1941, pp. 84-86) of R. M. Engberg's *The Hyksos Reconsidered*; cf. also H. Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte u. Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens*, Glückstadt-Hamburg, (1942), p. 70. See above p. 45, n. 2.

⁽⁶⁾ Josephus (first century A. D.), who in his political work *Contra Apionem* preserves for us the traditions of Manetho about the Hyksos, renders the name "Shepherd Kings", now known to be erroneous.

⁽⁷⁾ Robert Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, Chicago (1939), p. 50; apart from von Bissing's severe criticism of Engberg's work, see also R. Dussaud in *Syria*, 21 (1940), pp. 343-4, and A. W. Shorter in *JEA*, 27 (1941), pp. 171-73. We wish to call attention again at this juncture to the conclusions of H.

them is far from complete. What is important at this point is to note that isolated bits of evidence such as the monuments of Khayana, the most powerful of the Hyksos rulers, found at Gebelen in southern Egypt, an alabaster vase lid in Crete, his cartouche on the breast of a granite lion found at Baghdad, and scarabs of Hyksos rulers discovered in southern Palestine, permit us to glimpse perhaps the vision of an extensive empire. Yet such meagre details forbid our speculating further in this direction. If such there were, it becomes at once apparent how indispensable it would be for a knowledge of Upper Mesopotamia. To this action of the Hyksos the reaction was strong and violent and seems to have led to a general commitment on the part of the subsequent Pharaohs to intervention in Asia.

It was under Amosis (c. 1560) of the Eighteenth Dynasty that Thebes once more gained power and the Hyksos were pushed out of Avaris back into Palestine where they were besieged for three years and overcome at Sharuhem in the Negeb. From this time on we find chariots in Egypt and one must conclude that the horse was introduced there by the Hyksos. With famed archery, chariots, and improved military method, doubtless also with the sense of growing empire, the Egyptians were quick to push their advantage. It is possible that Amenophis I (1546-25) reached the Euphrates, if we may believe the boasts of his successor (1). In this connection one must remember that the North-Palestinian terrain was notably unfavorable to the formation of a single powerful state; the Egyptians thus styled the Palestinian highlands together with the Phoenician hinterland and Lebanon Upper Retenu (*Rtnw*) while Naharin, that is, an area covering roughly from beyond the Euphrates to the Orontes and partly northwards to Asia Minor, was called Lower Retenu (2). On the Orontes itself, the Hyksos had strongly entrenched themselves at Kadesh and thus could control the eastward commercial routes. Mastery of such a pivotal point was plainly a *conditio sine qua non* for the success of Egyptian imperial aspirations towards the east. The Asiatics had perhaps remained somewhat chastened for the time being by the campaign of Amenophis I, for Tuthmosis I (1525) was able to reach without serious opposition as far as Naharin and set up the royal stele on the Euphrates as an eastern boundary to his conquests (3). His inscription reads "(his) northern (boundary) as far as that inverted water which goes down-stream in going up-stream", by which latter the Eu-

Stock (*op. cit.*) as summarized above (p. 45). They shed new light on the Hyksos period within Egypt, but the situation in North Mesopotamia is not yet known well enough to speak of a Hyksos empire in Asia. Stock (*op. cit.*, p. 75) explains the finds in Crete and Baghdad as possibly transmitted through Hurrian expansion and trade; this is in accord with his view of a predominantly Aryan invasion into Egypt, stemming ultimately from Mitanni. We have already indicated this hypothesis as premature for the moment. Much more evidence will have to be forthcoming from North Mesopotamia in the 18th century B.C. to prove it. F. W. von Bissing in "Das angebliche Weltreich der Hyksos", *AfC*, 11 (1936-37), pp. 325-335, takes a very decided stand against such a Hyksos empire. For earlier works consult J. Breasted, *HE*, pp. 219 ff.; S. Smith, *EHA*, pp. 216 ff. There seems to be no solid ground for assuming with the latter (p. 218) a resurgence, however short-lived, of Assyria that threatened Egypt at this time. On the other hand, Ed. Meyer, (*GA*, II, 1, p. 43) subscribed without misgiving to the view "dass die ersten Hyksoskönige ein gewaltiges Weltreich beherrscht haben".

(1) Breasted, *AR*, II, 73; the reference is to Tuthmosis I.

(2) Bilabel, *GV*, pp. 8, 9. The term Naharin will be more thoroughly discussed in chapter VII.

(3) Breasted, *AR*, II, 478; *Urk.*, IV, 32. It is possible that the Hittites at this period were opponents of Tuthmosis I (1525-?) as Olmstead (*HPA*, p. 130 ff.) believes; cf. also R. de Vaux, "Les Patriarches hébreux et les découvertes modernes", *RB*, 53 (1946), p. 335.

phrases is understood⁽¹⁾. The inscriptions of his courtiers also boast of exploits performed in the country of Naharin. Of Tuthmosis II we have little that is of value. Hatshepsut⁽²⁾ speaks in less clear terms of her wide domain, "My eastern border (extends) to the marshes of Asia; the Mentiu (Asiatics) are in that which I grasp... my power is among the sand-dwellers (*Hrjw-š-* Semitic bedawin)"⁽³⁾. Militarily speaking her reign was inactive. Yet the Asiatics were not to remain always thus submissive and for two following generations constant warfare was necessary for the Egyptians to maintain their control over these unruly subjects.

Nor at this juncture was a truly martial spirit wanting. Tuthmosis III (1469-1436), when he was finally able after the death of Hatshepsut to wield a free hand in government, made no less than sixteen expeditions by land or sea into Asia. In the twenty-second year of his reign he marched north and at Megiddo vanquished with great daring a coalition of the foe under the leadership of the prince of Kadesh, who however escaped. He probably continued his march north, for in the following year he received tribute from the Retenu and Assyria⁽⁴⁾; in his sixth campaign he destroyed Kadesh itself, and in his eighth campaign, the thirty-third year of his rule (1457), he pushed on to Aleppo, discomfiting en route the Syrians in the Orontes valley, until he reached Carchemish itself and could boast of "laying waste the settlements of that foe of wretched Naharin"⁽⁵⁾, the latter being undoubtedly Saushsatar, king of Mitanni. Now for the first time he set up his triumphal stele beyond the Euphrates. He also took Niya, enjoying an elephant hunt in its vicinity. It is at this point that Sidney Smith⁽⁶⁾ maintained that there was an actual invasion of Assyria itself, by Tuthmosis III, arguing that the place names on the temple lists of Karnak point, by and large, to regions east of the Tigris. Such identifications however are too venturesome to be cogent here; in particular, the name 'Ararah is Alalakh in northern Syria⁽⁷⁾ rather than Arrapkha, the ancient Kirkuk. For the present, therefore, we are inclined to look upon the tribute sent by Assyria at this time and recorded by the Pharaoh, as a diplomatic overture on the part of Assyria, which could see "trouble in the making". Yet lasting domination was not yet effected, for in the very next, his thirty-fourth, year Tuthmosis III had to march forth once more into the land of Nukhashshe and take a rich toll of booty. In his thirty-fifth year, he had to suppress a rebellion in Naharin, possibly stemming from the king of Aleppo⁽⁸⁾. Naharin lay shattered for seven years. In his thirty-eighth year, he fought once

(1) Breasted, *AR*, II, 73.

(2) The still obscure question of Hatshepsut in relation to the rules of Tuthmosis I, II and III respectively need not detain us here. It seems most probable that she was a daughter of the first, a sister of the second, and an aunt of the third; cf. W. F. Edgerton's excellent monograph, *The Thutmosis Succession* (1933), Chicago.

(3) Breasted, *AR*, II, 321; Bilabel, *GV*, p. 29.

(4) Bilabel, *GV*, p. 39.

(5) Breasted, *AR*, II, 479. A royal stele was found in 1928 on Tell el-Oreimeh (most probably the ancient Chinnereth), inscribed as follows "..... I have repelled the foreigners of Mitanni (so that it has become) as one that never existed". This stele belongs most probably to the reign of Tuthmosis III, after his eighth campaign; cf. W. F. Albright and Alan Rowe, "A Royal Stele of the New Empire from Galilee", *JEA*, 14 (1928), pp. 281-287.

(6) S. Smith, *EHA*, pp. 227-234.

(7) This S. Smith later admitted, seeing confirmation of the point in the appearance of the Egyptian 'ankh symbol at Alalakh about 1450 B. C.; cf. his early report on the 'Atshâna tablets, *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX (1939), p. 40.

(8) Breasted, *AR*, II, 498.

more against Nukhashshè; but the last great campaign took place in his forty-second year (1443) when, now getting on in years, he swept northwards once more, taking Irkata and Tunib and razing the walls of Kadesh to the ground⁽¹⁾. Naharin apparently lay broken and helpless, for the Pharaoh kept a garrison at Ikathi in the very heart of it, and a hymn of praise to Tuthmosis III reads: "The lands of Mitanni tremble under fear of thee!"⁽²⁾.

Apart from the extravagances of Egyptian records as such, what is to be the objective evaluation of their foreign ventures? Looked at in the light of their repeated and often annual campaigns into Asia, not to speak of others along the Mediterranean coast which we have left unmentioned, we cannot say that their domination there was long effective or undisputed. Some of the inroads, such as that of Tuthmosis III in the thirty-third year of his rule, must have been little more than a march of external show. Aleppo and Carchemish never seem to have fallen completely to the Egyptians, and other cities, though once captured, had, like Kadesh, to be taken again and again⁽³⁾. The reasons for characterizing as an ultimate failure more than a century of Egyptian enterprise on foreign soil seem to be largely twofold. First the Egyptians themselves, though their coffers swelled with rich booty and tribute from Asia and their magnificent structures were built by the sweat and toil of captives, do not seem to have perfected an efficient system of provincial administration to insure permanently so abundant a source of revenue. Their infant empire was loosely knit together and the fact that the sons of native rulers were trained and "indoctrinated" at Thebes did not mean that they returned to their local cities as responsible provincial governors but rather as freely-moving tributary kings⁽⁴⁾. A second reason for this failure was the hardness of the opposition. Kadesh, we have seen, was a stronghold of the "Hyksos" and formed a rallying point for lesser North-Syrian potentates. Aleppo, too, seems to have been a nucleus of enemy coalition against the Egyptians. It further appears certain that another principal was working behind the scenes and was most concerned to keep these smaller centers of force as a buffer between Egypt and itself. This latter can be no other than the kingdom of Mitanni, and it was not by chance that it took up the cause of the fallen Kadesh. Previously we have studied the remarkable structure of this state, we have noted its mixed ethnic composition and seen something of its cultural heritage. With the death of Tuthmosis III, like an actor at his cue, it steps forth fully into the light of history to play a major political role.

2. Mesopotamian Regional and Political Terms.

Beyond any doubt it will be not too arduous a task to follow the course of Mitannian history if a sufficiently clear grasp can be had of the more important terms which apply to Upper Mesopotamia. Because of their varying connotations in a regional or political sense, some fluctuation is unavoidable but still enough precision can be obtained to be of definite service. In particular, therefore, it seems quite clear that *Mitanni*, the first term to be considered, is primarily a political term, for the state covered not only the land Mitanni of northern Mesopota-

⁽¹⁾ Breasted, *ibid.*, 531, 590; Bilabel, *GV*, p. 41.

⁽²⁾ Breasted, *ibid.*, 655 ff.

⁽³⁾ Olmstead, *HPS*, p. 139.

⁽⁴⁾ Bilabel, *GV*, p. 42; Breasted, *HE*, p. 323.

mia, even to the Kashiari Mountains (Tûr 'Abdin) and the source of the Tigris, but also extended eastward to embrace the kingdom of Arrapkha, and in the west, that of Mukish in northern Syria as vassal states. What precisely was the origin of the term still remains to be answered. That it is primarily political is borne out by its relatively late appearance in history ⁽¹⁾. It ordinarily appears in cuneiform sources of the second half of the second millennium B. C., especially in the Boghazköy archives and the Amarna letters with little variation in spelling ⁽²⁾. In Egyptian sources however ⁽³⁾, covering the same period, it apparently is a geographical term, for it then applies to Naharin, meaning therefore from the Euphrates to, and possibly beyond, the Khabur. As a matter of fact, even in cuneiform sources this geographical usage seems later to have coincided with the political sense when the kingdom of Mitanni under Matiwaza was restricted to this area. Washshukkani has been assumed to be the capital of Mitanni but has not yet been definitely located, although E. Forrer suggests the region of Nisibis as most probable, while Meissner ⁽⁴⁾ puts it near modern Râs el 'Ain. Generally, however, Fekhkeriye is now accepted as the proper identification. Of the other Mitanni cities, Irrite and Taida occur most frequently ⁽⁵⁾. It is to be noted that the four kings Sudarna I, Saushsatar, Tuishrata and Matiwaza are by themselves and by the Hittites called "kings of Mitanni".

Three of their successors — heirs to a much reduced kingdom — Satuara I, Wâsasatta and Satuara II, are called by the Assyrians, however, "kings of Hanigalbat". This was certainly an earlier geographical term covering northern Mesopotamia, and this meaning, as has been plausibly suggested, appears to be the sense of its usage in a number of texts from Nuzu ⁽⁶⁾. In the Mitanni period, naturally, it came to be used as a synonym for the Mitanni Kingdom both in Assyrian documents and by Tuishrata himself ⁽⁷⁾. It is for this reason that some speak of Hanigalbat as splitting up eventually into the two kingdoms of Hurri in Armenia and Mitanni in the upper Mesopotamian plain. Subsequently, however, when Hanigalbat was an active enemy of Assyria (c. 1300), it was restricted to the mountainous regions stretching from Tûr 'Abdin southwards. S. Smith puts its capital at Nisibis ⁽⁸⁾.

We fail to see what evidence there is for assuming the identity of the latter with the kingdom of Khana, with its capital at Tirqa on the Euphrates. The basis furthermore for claiming it to be located in the region of Melitene, west of the Euphrates, after the complete breakdown of the Mitanni kingdom, is now shown to be an incorrect reading of an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I ⁽⁹⁾.

⁽¹⁾ The earliest usage of the term is by the Mitanni kings and is also evidence of the dependence of Arrapkha on Mitanni. It is on a tablet from Nuzu (*HSS*, IX, n. 1) where the name of Saushsatar is found as king of Mitanni. That Mukish was dependent in a similar way, is shown from a cylinder impression from Alalakh, which reads "Sudarna, son of [...] dirta, king of Mitanni"; this was Sudarna I. Cf. S. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 42, *ATT*/8/52.

⁽²⁾ I. Gelb, *HS*, p. 70, n. 167, where variants are listed.

⁽³⁾ These references are particularly true in the period from Tuthmosis III (1469-1336) to Ramesses II (1301-1234); cf. J. Breasted, *AR*, V, p. 89, and M. Müller, *AE*, p. 284.

⁽⁴⁾ B. Meissner, *KBA*, p. 87.

⁽⁵⁾ E. Forrer, *Provinzeneinteilung*, pp. 19 ff., and *BKSt.*, VIII, 2 rev. 28.

⁽⁶⁾ I. Gelb, *HS*, p. 73.

⁽⁷⁾ Bilabel, *GV*, p. 157, and *EA* 20: 15-17.

⁽⁸⁾ S. Smith, *EHA*, p. 279.

⁽⁹⁾ Both of these rejected opinions are advanced by Ed. Meyer in *GA*, II, 1, pp. 29 and 477 respectively. For the improved reading referred to, cf. A. Goetze, *MAOG*, IV (1928-29), p. 64 f., n. 7.

The Hurrian question has already been taken up in detail. It is not clear as yet, however, what precisely we are to conclude in regard to the expression "king of *Hurri*"⁽¹⁾. Not only was it applied to Artadāma II and to his son Sudarna III⁽²⁾, but also to Tuishrata himself,⁽³⁾ who was otherwise "king of Mitanni", and the one with whom the two former disputed succession to the throne of Mitanni. They were all three members of the same dynasty⁽⁴⁾. Later also Matiwaza in a Boghazköy treaty says *Anâku "Matiwaza mār šarri u (nēnu) mārē Hurri*⁽⁵⁾. "I, Matiwaza, the son of the king, and (we) Hurrians", showing that the people of Mitanni called themselves Hurrians. Ed. Meyer takes the term *Hurri* then in the phrase, "*King of Hurri*", as a synonym for Mitanni occurring thus especially when the Mitannians wanted to distinguish themselves from foreigners⁽⁶⁾, and not because *Hurri* was a separate and powerful state. In other words, in the period 1450-1350, the names *Mitanni*, *Hanigalbat* and *Hurri* were practically synonymous. Gelb, on the other hand, although rightly rejecting with Meyer an independent kingdom of *Hurri* as postulated by Winckler and Weidner, since our sources offer no evidence for such a kingdom, tries to explain the difference between the titles "king of *Hurri*" and "king of *Mitanni*" from the Hittite point of view whereby they would have regarded the latter as an usurper, while the former was legitimate successor to all *Hurri* lands⁽⁷⁾. Unfortunately, such an explanation can evidently not be offered for Tuishrata's title, "king of *Hurri*", in the Amarna letters (cf. below n. 3). Ed. Meyer's view is that which at present seems most plausible to the present writer.

The term *Naharin* was an Egyptian term for Mitanni and corresponded therefore to Lower Retenu. Naturally it was a Semitic borrowing to supplant the earlier form. We may add here that this meaning is paralleled by the Canaanite *Nahrima* of the Amarna letters, and though its eastern limits may not have been clearly defined in the minds of its users, it certainly covered northern Mesopotamia westward to the Orontes. Since the four terms discussed cover vast territories and seem to converge in their application, it may seem strange that they are so many. Yet many causes often produce many effects. *Hanigalbat* was an earlier geographical term and it merged with *Mitanni*, which was political, born of new times; *Hurri* was the native term, doubtless ethnic in origin, that the Mitannians gave to their own state, while *Nahrima*-*Naharin* was the name given to it by foreigners, the Canaanites and Egyptians. As subsequent political events developed, these terms shifted somewhat in scope and usage. What we have understood of them thus far will help us to follow the events referred to, especially in the light of their antecedent context.

(¹) As is evident, we are not primarily concerned here with the Egyptian usage of *Huru*, which, according to the Papyrus Anastasi 3, 1, 10, is the land just beyond the Egyptian border and along the Palestinian coast; by the time of Ramesses III it extended to all Syria, or at least to Upe, the Ubi of the el-Amarna letters.

(²) Gelb, *HS*, p. 79.

(³) E. g. *EA*, 24, iv, 127 *Tušrat(ta)n* 'Huruwhe ewirne, "Tuishrata, the Hurrian king".

(⁴) See below p. 81.

(⁵) *BKSt.*, VIII, 2, rev. 44 and *passim*; cf. Gelb, *HS*, p. 74.

(⁶) Thus in the Suppiluliumas-Matiwaza treaty, as applied to Artadāma II and also in the Kizwatna treaty as applied to Tuishrata; cf. Ed. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, p. 372.

(⁷) I. Gelb, *HS*, p. 79. A. Goetze (*JNES*, V, 1946, p. 167) has again insisted on the distinction between *Mitanni* and *Hurri* as separate states.

THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST DURING THE MITANNI PERIOD.

EGYPT	ASIA MINOR & SYRIA	NORTH MESOPOTAMIA	ASSYRIA			BABYLONIA
			MITANNI	HURRI	Assur-nadin-ahhe II 1399-1390	
Dyn. XVIII c. 1570-	Mursilis c. 1560 Amosis in Palestine c. 1550					End Bab. I c. 1550
Amenophis I 1546-25	Tuth. in Syria c. 1520					Agum II c. 1520
Tuthmosis I 1526-	Megiddo IX					End Bab. II c. 1475
Hatshepsut 1490.	Megiddo VIII- <i>Alalakh</i>					
Tuthmosis III 1469-36			Sudarna I c. 1500 Parshasatār Saunshatār c. 1460			
Amenophis II 1436-22			Artadāma c. 1440 -1425			
Tuthmosis IV 1422-13	Tudkhalias II			Sudarna II c. 1405	Assur-nadin-ahhe II 1399-1390	Kadashman-Enil (Härbe) I
Amenophis III 1413-377	Khattusilis II		Artad. II = Amen. III	Kelu-Khepa Artasumara		
Amenophis IV 1377-60 (Akhenaten)	Suppliliumas c. 1375-1335 AMURRU			Tatu-Khepa = Amen. III & Amen. IV	Tuishrata c. 1385 (king of Hurri)	Burnaburiash II 1370-1340
					Matiwaza c. 1365	Assur-uballit I 1362-1327
Tutankhamon 1358	Aziru					
Eye -1354	IR-Teshup					
	Dubbi Teshup					
Haremheb 1350-1320						
Dyn. XIX c. 1320-	Arnuwandas I c. 1335-30					Enlil-nirari 1326-1317
Ramesses I 1320-1319	Mursilis II c. 1330-1300					Arik-dēn-ilu 1316-1305
Sethos I 1319-1301						Adad-nirari I 1304-1273
Ramesses II 1301-1234	Muwatallis 1300-1290					Shalmaneser I 1272-1243

3. The International Scene: Egypt and the Hittites.

Only in most recent years has the rather fragmentary history of this period been gradually recovered. From the varied sources which have come to light, the preceding table has been made to show the succession of the Mitannian kings and their position in relation to the powers that surrounded them. The earliest known kings of Mitanni appear on a tablet from Alalakh where Saushsatar uses the seal impression of his predecessor, "Sudarna, son of... ditta", in a court suit brought before him⁽¹⁾. Attention has already been called to the seal of Saushsatar himself found on a tablet at Nuzu, where he is called son of Parshasatar and king of Mitanni. The further information gleaned from the Hittite archives that it was this same Saushsatar who took from Assur a precious door of gold and silver to adorn his palace in Washshukkani, makes it plain that, until our meagre findings thus far are more abundantly supplemented, we must credit him with the first far-reaching conquests of the Mitanni kingdom, about the period 1450 B. C. He reigned from Nuzu in the east to Alalakh in northern Syria and, in all probability, as far as the Mediterranean. Vassal kings, such as our preceding study of the Mitanni feudal system would lead us to suspect and as the actual case of Niqmepa, son of Idrimi, in Alalakh clearly shows, enjoyed a certain measure of autonomy. Kings of both Assyria and Arrapka are known also at this time⁽²⁾, and in the case of the former, later inscriptions of Assur-uballit I (1362-1327), wherein he refers to his father's overlord as the Hanigalbatian king, point beyond any doubt to earlier Assyrian subjection to Mitanni. Since Alalakh was subject to Mitanni, it follows that the strong centers of Aleppo and Carchemish to the east were also under its sway and the same⁽³⁾ must have held also for such important sites in northern Syria as Qatna, Hamath, Sinzar, Tunip and the regions of Niya and Nukhashshe which represented typical cases of the Hurrian-Indo-Aryan symbiosis. Farther north we know of strong Hurrian opposition to the Hittites from early inscriptions of the latter, and in Kizwatna, a kingdom located north of Cilicia, there was indeed a numerous Hurrian population, but we cannot say, for lack of direct evidence, that it was part of the Mitanni kingdom at so early a period as the reign of Saushsatar. However, it is sufficiently clear that this Mitannian king had already occupied a unique position in terms of military and political might in the early fifteenth century B. C.

It is at this point that we pick up again the sequel of Egyptian fortunes in Asia. Shaushsatar was the one, no doubt, who was worsted by Tuthmosis III (p. 77) and who lost much of his realm west of the Euphrates to the latter. Of Artadāma 1, successor of Saushsatar, we have only beggarly information from Tuishrata's letters; presumably he was not in a position to regain the upper hand immediately if we are to consider as an adroit political move the *rapprochement* effected with Egypt by the marriage of his daughter to Tuthmosis IV (1422-1413)⁽⁴⁾.

(1) S. Smith, *Antiquaries Journal*, XIX, 1939, pp. 41 ff.

(2) Cf. I. Gelb, *HS*, pp. 76 ff. where the latest treatment of this period is given.

(3) From the treaty between Mursilis II (c. 1330, *BKSt.*, VIII, 6, 15 ff.) and the king of Aleppo we learn that Aleppo had been annexed to Mitanni in the time of Tudkhalias I (c. 1430) and though conquered by the latter was soon working hand in hand again with Mitanni (Hanigalbat).

(4) *EA*, 24, III, 52 ff.; 29:16 ff. For the latest comprehensive treatment of the Amarna letters the reader is referred to Jakobus de Koning, *Studien over de El-Amarna-brieven en het Oude-Testament inzonderheid uit historisch oogpunt*, Amsterdam (1940). The author shows a thorough control of the older literature

In fact, this move seems best understood as a sign that a treaty between Mitanni and Egypt, as inferred by Ed. Meyer (¹), did exist whereby Aleppo and North Syria fell to the former. This would explain also how it was that Mitanni could retain domination over Assyria at the same time. That she did, seems clear from the fact that Sudarna II (c. 1405), son and successor of Artadāma I, sent "Ishtar of Nineveh" to Egypt (²). Of Sudarna II, unfortunately, our information is very meagre also, yet diplomacy in our modern sense flourished even in his day for he, too, gave a daughter, Kelu-Khepa, to Amenophis III (1413-1377), and so we may be sure friendly relations prevailed between Egypt and Mitanni at this period. The same peaceful relations between these two powers were maintained and strengthened under Tuishrata, the successor of Sudarna II, as is plentifully illustrated from the rich correspondence preserved to us in the Amarna letters (³) wherein Tuishrata brings out to Amenophis III how much they have in common: his own father was such a friend to Pharaoh; he has defeated the Hittites through Teshup and sent the booty to Egypt; Ishtar and Amon make his daughter Tatu-Khepa pleasing in the eyes of Pharaoh, to whom he has given her in marriage (⁴); Teshup and Amon keep their friendship. Once again Ishtar of Nineveh is sent to Egypt, possibly as a type of palladium to protect Pharaoh's life. Tuishrata gave Tatu-Khepa as wife also to Amenophis IV, upon the death of Amenophis III, and sent great stores of gifts to both Pharaohs. We see therefore that Tuishrata, at least early in his reign, was still overlord of Assyria, was ruler of a still powerful Mitanni kingdom and enjoyed a more than nominal friendship with Egypt.

But it was only the calm before the storm, when little breath stirs but the air is tense. Trying to read the signs of the times one realizes that, as a matter of fact, the Mitanni princesses were not ruling queens in Egypt and that Tuishrata, begging for gold from Egypt where, as he claims, it is "like dust" (⁵), had no choice but to play the sorry role of a fawning client on Egypt. Why was this? One might ask as well, "Why did Egypt, though she had not long before applauded the conquests of Tuthmosis III, now find it advisable to concede independence to Tuishrata, and even to sue for his friendship?". The signs are unmistakable. We are entering on a period of real diplomatic manoeuvring, a true international scene when a number of sufficiently strong powers emerge and gravitate into such positions as will mean for them individually, if not the control, at least the balance of power. As was to be expected, while they grew or tried to grow, they tried to curry favor with Egypt, which for long had dominated the field. Thus Kadashman-Harbe, the Cassite king, petitions Amenophis III for an Egyptian princess and bountiful gifts, and offers his own daughter to Pharaoh, sending much gold-laden furniture; in turn, Pharaoh's daughter is married to the Babylonian king (⁶) Burnaburiash; another Cassite king, writing probably to the same Pharaoh, recalls their fathers' friendship, and

but unfortunately has not gone into the problems of Egyptian military and administrative organization in Palestine and the setting of the letters themselves into a larger framework with other Egyptian historical monuments. These are problems now ripe for further study.

(¹) *GA*, II, 1, 133.

(²) *EA*, 23: 18 ff.

(³) *EA*, 17-19.

(⁴) Cf. *EA*, 27:1 ff.; 28:1 ff., 29:1 ff.

(⁵) *EA*, 19:61; 20:52, 71; 26:41; 29:136.

(⁶) *EA*, 1-5.

he makes repeated requests to Amenophis IV for money, sends a princess to him and is indignant that an Assyrian ambassador should be at Pharaoh's court (1). In turn Assur-uballit I (1362-1327) of Assyria directs a petition for gold, which is "like dust" in Egypt, to Amenophis IV. Upon previous requests Amenophis III had sent a gift of twenty talents of gold to the king of Assyria and (2) won his friendship. From Cyprus itself to Babylon, therefore, Pharaoh could count his "friends". At least he was sure of their services when it lay to their own interests also to give them.

But the greatest menace for imperial Egypt threatened from the north. After the time of Telebinus (c. 1500), when the Hittite empire had already fallen apart, there comes a gap in our sources of almost one century which has not yet been filled in, except for some inscriptions and a few seals with archaic script. A number of minor Hittite kings, perhaps ten, with short reigns, succeeded, the most important of whom were Tudkhalias II and Khattusilis II. These two, however, are dwarfed by comparison with their successor Suppiluliumas (c. 1375-1335), although they left to him an empire fairly well organized. There can be no doubt that the treaty existing between Egypt and Mitanni was designed to avert this menace. How it had grown, particularly towards the east before Tuishrata's time, we may glean, for example, from a treaty between Mursilis II (c. 1330) and Rimi-sharma of Aleppo (3), wherein the former tells of the ancient power of Aleppo, but how in the days of Tudkhalias I it had formed a league with the king of Hanigalbat. For this they were both undone and Aleppo itself destroyed; almost immediately, however, the king of Aleppo and his ally resumed their intrigues against Khattusilis II; the surrounding kingdoms of Ashtata and Nukhashshe (4) they stirred up against him, until all were once more subjected, and so such turbulent alterations were quite the order of the day.

Farther north, another treaty (5) between Suppiluliumas and Shunashūra, king of Kizwatna (6), makes clear that the latter kingdom had in the time of Khattusilis II fallen away from the Hittites to join forces with Mitanni and that the kingdom of Ishuwa had soon followed it. Thus the Hittite was quite beset on many sides by the foe in his first resurgence to power and was pushed back out of Syria. It is doubtless to this occasion that Tuishrata referred in his letter to Amenophis III (cf. above p. 83) and so the Hittite king involved was not Suppiluliumas, as Bilabel (G V, p. 142) contends. It is for this reason that, although one may readily admit a treaty between Egypt and Mitanni against the Hittites, one should not posit it at too early a time before Suppiluliumas, when the Hittites were plainly not too great a menace, and when Egypt was still strong enough, even after Tuthmosis III, to intervene in Asia. The first effective *rapprochement* must be dated from the time of Artadāma I. The mightiest figure that now appeared on the scene was Suppiluliumas (c. 1375-1335). Since he was a contemporary of

(1) EA, 6-11.

(2) EA, 23:30 ff.

(3) BKSt., VIII, 6, lines 11 ff.

(4) Ashtata is the region south of the Euphrates where it sweeps eastward from Balis; Nukhashshe covers the region in Syria south of Niya, embracing Hamath.

(5) BKSt., VIII, 7, lines 5 ff. Although E. Weidner has listed the Hittite king concerned as Muwatallis, still for reasons advanced by E. Forrer (*Forschungen* II, B 9) and E. Meyer (G.A, II, 1, p. 372), he was most probably Suppiluliumas.

(6) Cf. above p. 55, n. 1.

Tuishrata and since events became more obscure in Mitanni itself when the latter appeared we must return there to realize what actually happened. This is all the more important since in the light of the skillful and eventually successful game Suppiluliumas played in the sequence of events, one wonders whether he did not have a hand in causing the inner Mitanni dissensions and did not thus set the stage for a brilliant execution of the plan *divide et impera!* There is as yet no evidence for such a statement, it is true, no matter how inherently plausible or probable, but it may still prove a key to the understanding of the puzzling situation which confronts us.

When Tuishrata came to ascend the throne of Mitanni, factions were rife within the royal house. His brother, Artasumara, was evidently about to receive the kingship, but was murdered by Pirhi (1) who acted as regent for the young Tuishrata (2). The latter then succeeded in gaining control and avenged his brother by killing the murderers. Yet his reign did not go undisputed, for Artadāma II and his son Sudarna III, who are called kings of Hurri, presented rival claims to the throne. The former concluded a treaty with Suppiluliumas (3), and Tuishrata took up arms against the Hittite king. It has apparently been the accepted opinion that Artadāma represented the legitimate heir to the throne while Tuishrata, his brother, was nothing more than a usurper (4). Gelb also adheres to this view, on the ground, however, that Artadāma II and Sudarna III, bearing the same names as their grandfathers respectively, would thus in accordance with the Near East usage of paponymy in regard to (first born? — *sic* Gelb) children, be *ipso facto* designated as the legitimate heirs (5). Thus Tuishrata is manifestly a usurper. However this explanation seems to forfeit all claim to acceptance by Gelb's admission that Artasumara, a third brother, preceded both parties on the throne (6) — nowhere in our sources is there a hint that he was not legitimate king. Until further sources relieve this uncertainty, it seems to the writer reasonable to ask, "Is it not possible that after dark intrigues had cost Artasumara his life, a third party would be interested in continuing a state of affairs where a 'house divided against itself shall not stand'?" We refer to Suppiluliumas, who, as events proceeded, blew hot and cold towards the interests of the contending groups, and astutely guided events so as to render meaningless the Mitanni-Egyptian pact formed against him. This eliminates the necessity of assuming a separate kingdom of Hurri as apart from Mitanni — the title "king of Hurri" was assumed by Artadāma II and his son, for they laid claim to it just as Tuishrata did. Let us see how this is true.

Suppiluliumas is at war therefore against Tuishrata. Allied to Artadāma, he moves forward into the land of Ishuwa more than once, to Alshe and on to the plundering of Washshukkani, the Mitannian capital itself. Returning then he follows a southerly route, subjecting the kingdoms of Aleppo and Mukish, defeating a coalition of *maryannu* leaders from Niya and Arahti, overpowering Qatna and the whole land of Nukhashshe, to establish his southern border finally at Lebanon. In Kadesh he wins a victory against Sutadara and his son, Aitagama, leading

(1) EA, 17:11 ff.

(2) BKSt., VIII, 1, 1-3.

(3) Thus E. Weidner, BKSt., VIII 2, n. 3, "Tušratta, der sich gegen ihn (Artatama), den rechtmäßigen König, empört hatte".

(4) I. Gelb, HS, p. 79.

(5) Ibid., p. 77.

them back captive to his own realm. All of this he does to break the power of Tuishrata, who must therefore control a vast territory west of the Euphrates, only to lose it to this formidable foe. Strange to say, however, Suppiluliumas does not penetrate into Mitanni near the lower Khabur. Perhaps he feels that Tuishrata is sufficiently broken as it is, or also, as may well be suspected, he wishes to grant him space and time to recover against the day when the liquidation of Artadāma II's house may be to Hittite interest.

Throughout this whole episode one remains naturally nonplussed by the extraordinary torpor and serene unconcern Egypt displayed in regard to her erstwhile ally. Yet we must not forget that we have come a long way in this respect since the days of Tuthmosis III, more or less a century before. Almost immediately upon his death all Naharin and northern Palestine had broken loose, but Egypt was still strong enough to set things right. Amenophis II (1436-1422) crossed the Orontes (¹), skirmished with Naharin, captured seven rebel dynasts in Takhshi, and probably crossed the Euphrates once more to receive tribute from Mitanni. Tuthmosis IV (1422-1413), his successor, was also obliged to invade Naharin and he recorded at Thebes the spoil, "which his majesty captured in Naharin, the wretched, on his first victorious campaign". The threatening growth and power of the Hittites changed this attitude towards Mitanni, however, and an alliance was concluded, strengthened by marriage, and the initial successes of Mitanni against Tudkhalias II and Khattusilis II we have already seen (see above pp. 83, 84). But it was more and more plain that Mitanni would have to carry on alone, for with the accession of Amenophis III (1413-1377) the supine indifference of Egypt with regard to active interest in its Asiatic affairs is only too manifest and appears almost ludicrous when we think of how utterly servile was the fawning and flattering court paid to it on all sides in the international setting that the Tell el-Amarna correspondence so vividly portrays for us (see above pp. 83, 84). In the almost absolute dominance of the Pharaoh by his queen Teye, we may already glimpse the beginning of that general cancer which was to sap from within the might of imperial Egypt until only a ghost of its former self was left at the death of Amenophis III. If Amenophis III and IV were co-regents, as K. Seele has recently maintained (²), it is strange that there are no double datings in our records as is true in the case of the Twelfth Dynasty. Furthermore, in the el-Amarna letters of Tuishrata to Teye and Amenophis IV, there is nowhere mention of Amenophis III as living (³); and in fact, Teye is the one who appears to hold the reins of power, which is all the more credible since Amenophis IV was very young at the time of his accession. Whether it is he or, as is more probable, the queen Teye to whom the introduction and energetic promotion of the new solar monotheism in Egypt is to be ascribed, it is at once evident that this new intolerant insistence on truth in the whole external pattern of life became an all-absorbing concern. As far as Asia came into question, it might just as well have not existed, for all the effective help it might expect from Egypt.

Were it necessary to illustrate how disastrous was the situation at this time resulting from such neglect, pages might be spent in describing how even in southern Palestine, so near to the Egyptian frontier, faithful vassals of the Pharaoh were a prey to the raiding *Habiru*, while

(¹) Breasted, *HE*, pp. 325 ff., *AR*, II, 784.

(²) G. Steindorff and K. C. Seele, *When Egypt Ruled the East*, Chicago (1942), pp. 79 ff.

(³) *EA*, 26-29.

others, only feigning loyalty, were playing a merry two-faced game, both with him and their local fellow-dynasts. However, the stories of ARAD-Khepa of Jerusalem, and Swardāta of Hebron (1), of Milkilu of Gezer, of Labaya and his sons of Shechem, together with varying fortunes of the Canaanite cities from Lachish in the south to Hazor in the north are already well known (1) and are otherwise not part of our study. Even so, they are interesting illustrations of the kind of thing that did take place to the north in Amurrū, which is of more direct pertinence here.

Amurrū was a principality in central Syria, stretching from the Syrian desert to the sea, in the region south of Kadesh, when its prince Abdashirta and especially his son Aziru struck out independently for greater power, now browbeating, now attacking their neighboring kingdoms. As a result, anarchy grew rapidly and the Amarna letters portray how disaffection from Egypt spread. Aziru had proceeded against the coast, conquering as far as Ugarit. He was a close ally of Aitagama of Kadesh, who himself was now a dutiful tool of the Hittites. Tunip, being in great danger, pleaded with Pharaoh for help in eloquent and touching words (2). Simyra fell but Rib-Addi of Byblos remained a loyal servant to Egypt, while Zimrida of Sidon seceded, moving with Aziru against Tyre (3). Abi-milki, king of Tyre, in his turn, appealed to Egypt for help. As the Amorites closed in about Byblos, Rib-Addi was still loyal and appealed for aid, but Aziru cleverly allayed all fears of Pharaoh, pleading that he was working for him against the Hittites (4). Amenophis IV was incredibly lenient, Egyptian deputies were of little avail and their mercenaries blunderingly slew Rib-Addi's garrison. The latter took refuge in Beirut only to find upon his return his throne usurped and his children handed over to his enemy (5). Beirut fell, he himself was cut off by land and sea, and finally was overcome by the foe, the *Habiru* swarmed over the land, Pikhuru, the Pharaoh's general, fell back steadily to the south, the caravans of Burnaburiash of Babylonia were plundered by the king of Acho and the general picture was one of disaster.

If such were conditions in Palestine and Syria, small wonder that Suppiluliumas, who was a contemporary of Amenophis IV, had a free hand against Mitanni and northern Syria! In fact, in keeping with his keen sense for opportunity, he found in Aziru a most opportune ally and ready tool against Egypt. A treaty and pact between the two of mutual defense against a third enemy has been preserved to us in the Hittite archives (6). A similar pact was concluded with Tette, king of Nukhashshe (7), after Suppiluliumas had driven Tuishrata from that land. In the case of Shunashūra, Suppiluliumas raised him above the rank of a common vassal and entered into a treaty of mutual faith and protection with him against Hurri (8). These treaties are furthermore remarkable in that they bring out what seemed an accepted Hittite policy of basing the strength and unity of the kingdom on at least semi-autonomous cooperation,

(1) EA, 286-290; 278-283; Fr. Thureau-Dangin, RA, 19 (1922), p. 106.

(2) EA, 41.

(3) EA, 150, 151.

(4) EA, 45-47.

(5) EA, 96.

(6) BKSt., VIII, n. 4.

(7) Ibid., no. 3.

(8) Ibid., no. 7.

and this cooperation was undoubtedly of a feudal nature much as in Mitanni⁽¹⁾. It may be said in passing that the Hittite state presents a splendid topic for study from many points of view. These treaties, in particular, of the New Kingdom are richly informative. The Hittite sovereign is called "the sun", and just as in other spheres religious activity is great and a strict ceremonial observed, so also here a veritable litany of gods is invoked to ratify the treaties. The wide variety of their ethnic associations is matched only by the highly diversified functions of nature they discharge, for on the one hand they come from Hittite, Hurrian, Amorite, and Aryan backgrounds while on the other, mountains, rivers, winds, the great sea, heaven and earth are witnesses to the pacts. Prominent among the Hittite gods, of course, was the storm-god, about whom were grouped the members of his family⁽²⁾, Arinna, his consort, Telepinu, his son, Mezulla, his daughter, Zintukhi, his granddaughter, etc. He was conceived as a typical deity, found in different places and, as such, perhaps absorbing the identities of other local deities⁽³⁾; some of the mountain gods were looked upon as his attendants. At times, although not normally, Ishtar appears as a winged deity, as does also the moon-god. Finally the Hittites had a number of representations of war-gods although it is probably justifiable to speak of only one type found in the different representations. For the Hittites war was a divine judgment and one's cause was decided thereby⁽⁴⁾. In the army itself not only were there the feudal lords, and farmer-soldiers, but freemen also served as followers and charioteers, the *Sutū* were hired archers, while other mercenaries were the *Lulahhu* and the ever and always present *Habiru*.

4. The Downfall of the Mitanni Kingdom.

It is little likely that with things faring so badly in their war against the Hittites, mainly no doubt for want of quick and strong Egyptian support, the Mitannians should have maintained great unity among themselves. There is no reason to doubt the presence of a strong and growing anti-Egyptian faction. Suppiluliumas had, be it noted, left Tuishrata on his throne; whether he now had a direct hand in accomplishing the intrigues which followed we don't know, but later events make it easily credible, as we shall see. Whatever happened, we know that

⁽¹⁾ See above pp. 66-68; A. Goetze, "Kleinasien", *KAO*, pp. 89 ff. For interesting analogies and contrasts of these and later Hittite treaties to medieval treaties with a feudal background see S. Furlani, "Osservazioni sui trattati internazionali hittiti", *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris*, I (1945), pp. 3-24. Furlani follows Weidner in assigning the treaty made with Shunashūra to Muwatallis and not to Suppiluliumas; but see above p. 84, n. 5. For direct treatment of the Hittite treaties with transcription, translation and commentary see the series published by Ferdinand Sommer: I. A. Götze, "Hattusiliš", *MVA e G*, 29 (1924), no. 3; II. J. Friedrich, "Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache, 1. Teil", *ibid.* 31 (1926), no. 1; III. A. Götze, "Madduwattaš", *ibid.*, 32 (1927), no. 1; IV: J. Friedrich, "Staatsverträge des Hatti-Reiches in hethitischer Sprache. 2. Teil", *ibid.* 34, no. 1; V. A. Götze, "Neue Bruchstücke zum grossen Text des Hattusiliš und den Paralleltexten", *ibid.*, no. 2; VI. A. Götze, "Die Annalen des Mursiliš", *ibid.*, 38 (1933).

⁽²⁾ C. G. von Brandenstein, "Hethitische Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen in Keilschrifttexten", *MVA e G*, 46, 2 (1943), pp. 69-75.

⁽³⁾ H. G. Güterbock, *Orientalia*, 15 (1946), pp. 489 ff.

⁽⁴⁾ A. Goetze, "Kleinasien", pp. 81-175, with a rich store of references.

Tuishrata was slain by one of his own sons ⁽¹⁾, and that "when Tuishrata, the king, was dead, Teshup decided the case of Artadāma and brought back his dead son Artadāma to life; but the entire land of Mitanni went to ruin and the Assyrians and the Alsheans divided it between them" ⁽²⁾. The mention of the Alsheans constitutes a difficulty since they had already been worsted by Suppiluliumas, but perhaps they were acting as free-lancing vassals here. The participation of the Assyrians was due presumably to the initiative of Assur-uballit I, of whom we shall have more to say presently. On both, Artadāma had squandered many goods of Mitanni. To claim from the reference to Teshup proof that Artadāma was legitimate heir, as so often assumed, seems pressing a point too far. Just because religious views of the Hittite made him look upon Tuishrata's death as a divine judgment in favor of Artadāma does not say the latter was really the legitimate successor of Sudarna II. True it is, however, that he, Artadāma, remained so far master of the situation. Sudarna III, his son, did great injury to the land, destroying the palace at Washshukkani, granting almost full independence to Assyria and returning the silver and golden door that Saushsatar had taken thence. The houses of the Hurrians he destroyed, their nobles he delivered up to the Alsheans and Assyrians to be impaled at Taite near Nisibis ⁽³⁾. He was apparently only too aware that in politics one gets rid of one rival only to make room for another. To complete his crime he schemed against Matiwaza, son of Tuishrata, who however managed to escape with his life.

This particular incident has been so reconstructed as to show that it was Matiwaza, only a young man in custody of Akit-Teshup, a Hurrian noble, who constituted the pro-Egyptian party in Mitanni, and that upon Tuishrata's death, they fled to Babylon from Sudarna, although the way was clear to the southwest, which would lead to Egypt — but such a course was not attractive ⁽⁴⁾. Yet the present writer encounters serious difficulties on two scores: first, there is no evidence that Matiwaza was a minor and hence in need of a regent; second, the text upon which Matiwaza's flight to Babylon is presumably based may not be so certain as has been thought. It is *BKSt.*, VIII, 2, 16-17, wherein, after telling how the king of Babylon (Burnaburiash) made an attempt on Akit-Teshup's life, Matiwaza continues "Furthermore me, too, Matiwaza, the son of Tuishrata, the king, he really sought to kill, but I escaped out of his hand and called to the gods of the sun Suppiluliumas, the great king..." etc. Yet it is possible that the agent in this last attempt on Matiwaza was not the king of Babylon, but Sudarna III, whose crimes Matiwaza had narrated in the preceding context and is conceivably resuming here after the Akit-Teshup incident. Certainly, in our other text touching on this point, there is no mention of a flight to Babylon but simply "Sutadara (Sudarna III) with the *maryannu*, had planned to kill Matiwaza, the king's son, (but) he escaped and came to the sun Suppiluliumas..." ⁽⁵⁾. Perhaps Gelb, too, has suspected there was no such flight to Babylon for in his treatment of this period he significantly makes use only of the last quoted text ⁽⁶⁾. Yet the

⁽¹⁾ *BKSt.*, VIII, 1, 48.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 48 ff; note 1. 49 *u mār-šú "Ar-ta-ta-ma mi-ta ub-ta-al-li-iz-zu* is translated by Gelb (*HS*, p. 79) as "and Artatama brought (back) to life his son (Suttarna III)".

⁽³⁾ *BKSt.*, VIII, 2, 1-14.

⁽⁴⁾ Thus S. Smith, *EHA*, p. 252.

⁽⁵⁾ *BKSt.*, VIII, 1, 53-55.

⁽⁶⁾ Gelb, *HS*, p. 80.

opposite view has been commonly accepted by Ed. Meyer (1), A. T. Olmstead (2), S. Smith (3), Fr. Bilabel (4), and most recently B. Hrozný (5), occasioned perhaps by E. Weidner's unhesitating statement, "Unter seinem (Akit-Tešups) Schutz flieht Tušrattas Sohn Matiwaza nach Babylonien" (6).

It seems therefore possible to reconstruct this episode in another way which will at least not conflict with the certain evidence we command. First of all, if Matiwaza were of the pro-Egyptian party one would expect him to have sought refuge in Egypt — had he perceived Egypt was of no help, it is unreasonable to assume he was pro-Egyptian. Rather, historical facts have shown that his father Tuishrata was Egypt's professed ally. With the terrible reverses that befell Mitanni, an anti-Egyptian reaction set in against this alliance; Matiwaza may easily have been the son of Tuishrata (no other is identified in our sources) who conspired against and slew his father, perhaps with the connivance of the wily Suppiluliumas. Then after the ruthless acts of Sudarna III, he fled directly to the Hittite king, who received him willingly and — this is marvelous — repeated in his case almost word for word, what he had said for Artadāma, "His cause Teshup has decided for him"! Thus there is no need to explain why he did not fly to Egypt, nor, by the same token, why he did go to Suppiluliumas; no need to assume a flight of his to Babylon; as for Akit-Teshup, he was one of the leaders of the oppressed Hurrians who did seek refuge there. Such a view of the situation, though it also involves some amount of conjecture, seems to explain more satisfactorily the data at hand. At any rate the stage is now set for the great *impresario*. Suppiluliumas tells us he has decided to establish Matiwaza on the throne of Mitanni, and for his daughter's sake, whom he gives as bride to Matiwaza, to save the land of Mitanni (7). She alone is to be queen and no child of any of his concubines is to be heir to the throne. Matiwaza petitions to receive only Mitanni and so to remain under the overlordship of Artadāma II. Despite the latter's evil deeds, Matiwaza will practice the Golden Rule. Thus the plot is laid and the intended victim suspects little. Not much time passes before Piyasilis, son of Suppiluliumas, whom the Hittite king has made king of Carchemish, joins forces with Matiwaza and thus the latter conquers the cities of Irrite, Harran, and Washshukkani, offering opposition to Sudarna III and his auxiliary troops from Assyria (8). In the treaty subsequently concluded with Suppiluliumas, wherein Matiwaza's rule is restricted to Mesopotamia east of the Euphrates, it seems that he must have conquered as far down the Euphrates as Tirqa. Piyasilis apparently received all the land from Carchemish to the confluence of the Euphrates and the Khabur.

Sudarna III had ceased to exist as a power and Suppiluliumas with his dependent son and son-in-law was victor of the day. Another son Telebinus was now king of Aleppo, and a nephew Hutubiyanza was waging his wars in the north; Suppiluliumas' treaties with Shunashūra

(1) *GA*, II, 1, p. 377.

(2) *HPS*, p. 183.

(3) *EHA*, pp. 252-3; also *Alalakh and Chronology*, p. 44.

(4) *GV*, p. 146.

(5) B. Hrozný, *Die älteste Geschichte Vorderasiens*, p. 125.

(6) *BKSt.*, VIII, 2, p. 39, note 9. We fail to see what solid basis there is for this statement.

(7) *Ibid.*, 1, 55-58; 2, 21-25.

(8) *BKSt.*, VIII, 2, 35-68, where the latter part of the text is in rather fragmentary condition.

of Kizwatna, Aziru of Amurrū, and Tette of Nukhashshe we have already indicated. In his later years he continued his wars against the Gashga and also against the Egyptians in central Syria. Shortly thereafter the Pharaoh Piphururia died (1), and his widow petitioned the Hittite for a son in marriage. As cautious as he was cunning, Suppiluliumas delayed the issue with questions and finally sent a prince who was treacherously murdered before he arrived in Egypt. After some twenty years, the Gashga (2) were once again up in arms, and on this last campaign Suppiluliumas apparently lost his life, thus bringing to a close the course of one of the most adroit political figures in the world's first truly international period. Of Matiwaza, we know nothing more after his treaty with Suppiluliumas. With his death the history of Mitanni as a political power closes forever. This was inevitable, for although in the west its borders were secured by the Hittite *entente*, still in the east his success against Sudarna and Assur-uballit I of Assyria was at best ephemeral. This latter king was destined to start Assyria once more on its upward march to empire. Before him Assur-nâdin-ahhē had reopened connections with Egypt and received presents from there (3). But it was Assur-uballit who proved both a political and military man of the hour. We have seen how he won favor with Amenophis IV to the disgust of Burnaburiash II (1370-1340), the Cassite king; to the latter, nevertheless, he married his daughter as the so-called "Synchronous History" informs us, and after varied Cassite intrigues, saw fit to step in, seize Babylon and place Kurigalzu III, a puppet king, on the throne. Having his southern flank protected, he faced to the west, quick to share the wealth of Mitanni with Sudarna III when that kingdom was undone, and so to ensure his own independence. Repulsed for a space by Matiwaza's eastward campaign, he was back in Mitanni again after Suppiluliumas' death, when both Piyasilis and Matiwaza had disappeared. A successor of his refers to him as "the one who scattered the forces of the wide-flung Subarian country", but contemporary documents are practically nil; from the fact, though, that in the time of Mursilis II, Suppiluliumas' son, the Hittite state was already quite reduced in size (4), one may conclude that the Assyrian king had strengthened his forces and dominated considerable areas to the west. He thus left behind him an extensive and well organized realm, which was to endure for many generations.

Looked at in the broad perspective of history, the kingdom of Mitanni was very shortlived, and in comparison with its neighbors could have been called a dominating power only for a short time at best. Yet it will always be a fascinating topic in the study of the ancient Near East, for the added reasons that when it first appears on the stage of history, as the curtain of two hundred years of darkness is pulled aside, it breaks upon the sight as a new entity, already established, and arrests the beholder by its very individuality. For the remarkable Hurrian and Indo-Aryan symbiosis, thriving in a feudal society, makes us want to know in ever greater detail and color, what forces there were behind the scenes molding the many

(1) According to Bilabel (*GV*, p. 285), this Pharaoh was Tutankhamon. Ed. Meyer (*GA*, II, 1, 338) held this view disproved; it is the throne name, Nefercheprure', of Amenophis IV.

(2) For further information on the Gashga see E. Forrer, *Die Provinzenteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig (1921), pp. 73 ff; E. Cavaignac, *RHA*, 1 (1931), pp. 101-110; A. Götze, *KAO*, p. 168; *HCA*, pp. 154 ff.

(3) *E 4*, 16:19.

(4) Text in Hrozný, *Hettitische Texte*, and Forrer, *Forschungen*; cf. S. Smith, *EHA*, p. 389, n. 12.

divergent elements that composed this state. Its subsequent history we have seen. At its close, we have noted new forces stirring. The Hittites have weakened and the Assyrians become strong. A Babylonian chronicle of uncertain date relates that Kadashman-Harbe ordered the Sutū in great masses to be killed, from "East to West". In other words, another movement of peoples into and overflowing the Fertile Crescent was clearly discernible, and it grew more pressing as resistance yielded. Behind the Sutū were the *Aḥlāmu*, which fact leads us directly into the Aramaeo-Assyrian period.

CHAPTER V

THE ARAMAEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

As we pursue the study of the land called Naharaim we are struck not only with the rapid tempo of its development but perhaps even more so with the simultaneous presence of many varied influences there, whether ethnic, artistic, or political. This was true at the time of Babylon I and especially so in the Mitanni period. Often the very complexity of the subject makes one run the risk of sacrificing adequate comprehension of the whole for the sake of stressing one or another feature, which is salient at a given period, and so clamors for exclusive treatment. Yet little else can be done since any subject offers different avenues of approach and yet must be characterized in some individual way. So it is with the period following the downfall of Mitanni. The Aramaeans, together with many other peoples, had already long before contributed their share in shaping its course in history, but now they in particular emerge to the point where this history can no longer be continued unless it be characterized as Aramaean in the main. Other forces may indeed operate, such as Hittite culture or renewed Egyptian interest in Asia, new ones may just begin to operate, as in the case of the Mushqi, while others, such as the Assyrians, may hasten the tempo of their activity and double their effectiveness to become a major part of our story. But, if we now ask, what element is most typical of the country at this time, only one answer is forthcoming: it is the Aramaeans. Their migrations toward every corner, and their gradual absorption of antecedent elements once they had in large measure passed from a nomadic to a settled way of life, were to give such a new aspect to things that many features would remain unchanged even down into the Christian era. It is all-important, therefore, to learn what we can of this people, their origins, their influence, and their subsequent fortunes. With these aspects of Mesopotamian history the efforts of the Assyrians to make their dreams of empire come and remain true are intimately bound up and hence they, too, will form an indispensable second part of this chapter.

A) The Rise and Expansion of the Aramaeans.

1. The Sutû and the Akhlâmu. Aramaeans in the West.

The Aramaeans have been just referred to as having been nomads. At once this statement indicates that their origins are shrouded in obscurity. To secure more precise knowledge of this nomadic period we must turn back to consider the Sutû and Akhlâmu, who at an earlier period were the forerunners of the Aramaeans. To speak of a great and accelerated mass irruption

from the desert, as so often is stated, beginning with the Hyksos period, seems exaggerated, for migration on a large scale before the general domestication of the camel (12th cent. B. C.) was hardly possible. Yet slow but sure accumulation of Bedawin wanderers about the fringes of settled areas, which must have been going on in traditional fashion since the days of the great Amorite powers (Mari and Babylón I), started to crystallize in these two peoples in ways that we might easily expect. The Sutū in fact appear in literary texts from the end of the third millennium or the beginning of the second, and they are mentioned as desert nomads in documents from the time of Rim-Sim, c. 1743 B.C., on⁽¹⁾. In the Egyptian execration texts of the 20th and 19th centuries we have mention of princes of both Upper and Lower Sutū, somewhere in Palestine⁽²⁾; Albright has connected this name (which he refers to a nomadic folk) with the Babylonian Sutū⁽³⁾. As early as the Hammurabi period the Sutū are known from a private letter wherein a merchant claims that the Sutū had set upon him and robbed him of oil⁽⁴⁾. Likewise in the Old Babylonian period the divinities *Mamie* and *Arahtum* are indicated in a list of gods as coming from the land of the Sutū⁽⁵⁾. The Sutū and the Akhlāmu are first mentioned in Assyrian sources as appearing in the time of Arik-dēn-ilu (1316-1305) of Assyria⁽⁶⁾. The former name is connected with the Egyptian *Styw*⁽⁷⁾, meaning "Asiatics". Thus as a matter of fact they do service as Egyptian mercenaries and in the rich correspondence of the Amarna letters we find them to all intents and purposes as so many *habiru*: they oppress various localities (318:13; 16:38 ff.; 169:25 ff.), are hirelings of the local dynast Biryawāza (195:29), and have their part in holding up Pharaoh's messenger (16). In keeping with all this, we are not surprised to find them mentioned in connection with Suppilulumas' battle near Carchemish. It is surprising that Arnuwandas is sent farther north to oppose the Sutū in the Gashga country. What is more surprising, however, is that, despite their bellicose character, they make gifts to the weak Assyrian ruler Ninurta-tukulti-Assur (1132 B.C.)⁽⁸⁾. A later reference to the Sutū comes to us from the first half of the ninth century in Babylon where an inscription of Nabū-apal-iddin records his re-endowment of the sun-temple at Sippar⁽⁹⁾. He tells of troubles which involved the Sutū in the days of Simmash-Shipak (third quarter of the eleventh century) and adds that he, himself, overthrew "the evil foe, the Sutū, whose sin was great...".

(1) Cf. W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam", *JBL*, LXIII (1944), p. 220, n. 89.

(2) G. Posener, "Princes et pays d'Asie et de Nubie", Bruxelles (1940), pp. 89-90.

(3) W. F. Albright, *loc. cit.*

(4) M. Streck, "Über die älteste Geschichte der Aramäer", *Klio*, 6 (1906), p. 209.

(5) Cf. E. Weidner, "Altbabylonische Götterlisten" *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, 2 (1924), p. 15, n. 10.

(6) Cf. the inscription of Adad-nirari I in E. Weidner's *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, Leipzig (1926), p. 62.

(7) The former derivation from the Egyptian *sty*, "to shoot", is wrong and the *ȝw* of Ez. 23:23, contrary to previous opinion (O. Weber, *EA*, II, p. 1039), no longer comes into consideration here. Also, referring to the Sua people, the allies of Elam at the destruction of Ur III, Thorkild Jacobsen in *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), p. 220, n. 4, remarks, "The old identification of the Su or Sua people with the Suti has no support beyond the accidental similarity of the first syllable in the two names".

(8) Cf. E. Weidner, "Aus den Tagen eines assyrischen Schattenkönigs", *AfO*, 10 (1935-36), p. 21.

(9) Cf. L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial Tablets in the British Museum*, London (1912), Text XXXVI, Col. 1, lines 6, 26-28.

If the name *Sutū* was possibly a term meaning "nomad" in its first connotation, one can hardly see in the name of the *Akhłāmu*, who were often associated with them, anything more than a simple appellative; there is no denying that this explanation admirably suits the word in its usage in cuneiform texts ranging from the late fourteenth century to the time of Tiglath-pileser III (745-727). In one of its earliest occurrences (*EA*, 200:8-10) it is preceded by the determinative *amēlu*, saying nothing therefore of geographic significance⁽¹⁾. The usual view is⁽²⁾ that it is etymologically a broken plural formation based on the singular *qitl* form as in the Arabic word *خَلِيل*, plural: *خَلَّالِيْنَ* meaning "friend", or "companion", although our word is never found in the singular. Thus *Akhłāmu* suitably meant a confederation or allies. It is notable, then, that these *Akhłāmu* seem to be the direct predecessors of the Aramaeans for from the end of the twelfth century on they are specified as Aramaeans. This is clear from the fact that Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) tells of how he defeated Aramaean nomads (*ah-la-me-e ar-ma-a-ia^{mei}*) in the region of Palmyra⁽³⁾. It is important to note that this new name Aram appears just when these roving bedawin groups are tending to settle down as at Palmyra, and they are the only branch of the *Akhłāmu* confederation for whom the latter, more generic term, is specifically used. It may also be said at this juncture that there seems to be no solid reason as yet for identifying the *Sutū* with the Aramaeans⁽⁴⁾ even though the former are so often associated with the *Akhłāmu* in time, place and mode of life. This latter fact, however, not only justifies but actually does require at least the brief consideration we have given to the *Sutū* in treating of the Aramaeans.

The name Aramaean occurs in many forms: *Armāyu* (< **Aramāia*) is gentilic; the forms *Arumu* and *Arimi*, later *Aramu*, *Arami*, etc., are preceded by the determinative *amēl* in Assyrian inscriptions⁽⁵⁾. *Arumu* and *Arimi* are secondary and suppose an original form **Aramu* for they are simple cases of harmony or vowel assimilation⁽⁶⁾. We now know according to a well established law of Middle Assyrian⁽⁷⁾ that when the vowel of the penultimate syllable is short *a*, it is regularly assimilated to the vowel of the nominative and genitive endings, thus: *Şubutu*, *Şubiti*; *Tarbuşu*, *Tarbişi*; *Hzaziti* (not *Hzazati*); *Arubu*, *Aribi*, and other numerous examples. Semantically, why any people should be called Aramaeans we are not in a position to say. It is most reasonable to think that the word was first a place name, possibly a mountain city *Arma*,

(¹) Theo Bauer in "Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals", *Assyriologische Bibliothek* (N. F.), Leipzig (1933), II. Teil, p. 1, in reference to III, 65 suggests the meaning "bandits" or "vagabonds" for various peoples in the Assyrian inscriptions who carry the determinative *amēl*. The meaning in the Amarna letters would not be far distant.

(²) S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 16; E. Kraeling, *AI*, p. 18.

(³) Cf. E. Forrer, *RLA*, I, pp. 131 ff.; J. Lewy, "The Assyro-Babylonian Cult of the Moon", *HUCA*, 19 (1945-46), p. 432, n. 144.

(⁴) S. Schiffer, *ibid.*, p. VII; F. Bilabel, *GV*, p. 10, n. 4; M. Streck, *loc. cit.*, p. 209. S. Smith (*EHS*, p. 393) insists on the identity nevertheless.

(⁵) Cf. p. 94, n. 8.

(⁶) The later form *Aramu* seems to have replaced the form *Arumu* altogether from the seventh century on. This was because in Late Assyrian the current Aramaic practice was followed when the old principle of vowel harmony had ceased to operate. The Aramaic form was *Aram* all the time.

(⁷) Cf. *BASOR*, 67 (1937), p. 27, n. 6; cf. E. Weidner, *AfO*, 3 (1926), p. 156, note 3.

mentioned by Shalmaneser I⁽¹⁾, and that then it developed as the name of a tribe and finally of a larger confederation.

Having examined the various names by which these roving Semitic tribesmen were known, it is next advisable to see how far they were dispersed. It is not our purpose here, consequently, to treat the royal Assyrian inscriptions in detail, for this is reserved to another section. If we consider the diffusion of these Bedawin in the west, the Sutû had at an early date given signs of how the forces of the desert would surge forward upon the slightest yielding of sedentary centers. In the Amarna period the Akhlâmu too had their share in the general turmoil (EA, 200: 8, 10), and from this same period on (1400 B. C.) the Aramaeans in unceasing flow occupied the source of the Jordan, and seeped forward to fix one of their greatest centers about Damascus, and another in the region of Harran⁽²⁾. Indeed, the patriarchal narratives in the Bible, though written down centuries after the events they portray, have been shown in recent years to be faithful pictures of those earlier times⁽³⁾, and they show in vivid colors in the tales of Laban and Jacob (Gen. 20, 25, 28) a true pattern of Aramaic peasant life. Jacob is called by his descendants a "wandering Aramaean" (Deut. 26:5) after his flight to Harran. It is singular that the name of this city is from then on called פָּדָן־עֲרָם⁽⁴⁾, a name not to be connected with the region called Hattin, which is farther west, nor to be located today in Tell Feddân, which name is only a factitious localization of Paddan-Aram in later Syrian tradition, but it is rather a synonym, *padânu* = route (or road) for *harrânu* with the same meaning⁽⁵⁾. This region of Harran is right in the heart of Aram Naharaim, and in our present discussion it becomes very pertinent to ask whether it is only in the Middle-Assyrian inscriptions that we have the first cuneiform occurrence of the name Aram. No less a scholar than Dhorme has found it by no means unreasonable to see it in an inscription of Naram-Sin, surviving in a copy on a clay tablet⁽⁶⁾. It reads "Naram-Sin, king of the four regions, when he warred against Harshamadki, lord of *A-ra-am* and of *Am*: in *Ti-ha-ar*, the mountain, he overcame him", and Dhorme finds nothing, either in text or context, that prevents us from looking upon this Aram as the later Aram Naharaim⁽⁷⁾. Other such references preceding the Amarna period would be particularly helpful in elucidating the ethnic and linguistic background of the patriarchs, a problem extremely complex for reasons which W. F. Albright has recently summarized⁽⁸⁾. At any rate, we are safe in saying that no great break in continuity should be maintained between the Amorites, let us say, of the Mari period and the early Aramaeans, a point we shall try to make more explicit when treating of the Aramaean tongue.

(¹) *KAH*, 14, col. II, 6 ff. As a matter of fact, the first time the expression *mâta-ri-mi* occurs is in the eleventh century as found in the annals of Assur-bel-kala (1073-1056); cf. E. Weidner, *AfO*, 6 (1930-31), p. 85, n. 65, who notes that in the context it seems to apply to the Syrian desert, southwest of the middle Euphrates, as well to the border district of western Mesopotamia near the same river.

(²) Ed. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, 344.

(³) See above pp. 30, 73; also W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 183.

(⁴) The passage in Hosea 12:13 שָׂדָה אֲרָם evidently took Padan to mean "field of Aram" instead of "route of Aram".

(⁵) Thus P. Dhorme, "Abraham dans le cadre de l'histoire", *RB*, 37 (1928), p. 487, and E. Kraeling, *op. cit.*, p. 24, following Zimmern's earlier suggestion.

(⁶) Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, 8 (1911), pp. 199 ff.

(⁷) Dhorme, *ibid.*, p. 488.

(⁸) W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, pp. 180 ff.

With regard to Hebrew traditions in the post-Amarna age, the movements of the Chosen People as they move north and westward about the Dead Sea to possess their Promised Land fit in very well with the restless shifting of peoples in these times as reported in extra-biblical sources. This is true whether we choose an early date cir. 1400 B. C. or a later date of cir. 1290 B. C. for the Exodus⁽¹⁾, and attention has already been called to the possible identity of the Hebrews with the Palestinian *habiru*⁽²⁾.

In the preceding chapter we were in a position to see how an Amorite power under Aziru could grow to significant proportions. However, it is not until some time after him that the Semites were able to dominate the west politically as well as ethnically. The reason for this in the case of Aziru was the powerful hold that Suppiluliumas was able to maintain in the face of his enemy, the Egyptian Pharaoh. With the successors of Aziru it was not otherwise and so it is fitting that we see how these forces continued to be part of the history of Naharaim. Immediately after Aziru had vanished from the scene of history, the Sutū arose against his son, presumably IR-Teshup, but the Amurru kingdom lasted on for an indefinite period. We know of three generations following the life of its founder but then the Amarna archives break off; further light comes from the annals of the Hittites. On the following page, we have tried to visualize how the various powers stood in chronological relationship to each other.

Egypt and the Hittites.

Before Suppiluliumas' death, the Hittite state was one of the most powerful. State treaties show how vassal kings were bound to service and to surrender fugitives who had fled within their borders, and how conquered peoples were led back *en masse* to the home-land of the Hittite overlord. Mitanni was finished, Aziru of Amurru and Aitagama of Kinza were strong buffers against the attacks of the Egyptian Haremheb, who was taking up the offensive anew. Yet when Suppiluliumas died, it was not surprising that the forces of revolt should show themselves. When Arnuwandas I succumbed to an epidemic, his brother Mursilis II proved equal to the task of coercing these unruly elements once more. Major attention had to be paid to the Gashga and to conducting campaigns in northwestern Armenia. In northern Syria he had to subject once more Nukhashshe and Kinza (Kadesh). It may be presumed that the extent of his rule was approximately what Ramesses II later indicated as Hittite territory (c. 1278), i. e., from Naharin to Kadesh. Mursilis was succeeded by his son Muwatallis (c. 1300-1290) who transferred his capital farther south from Khattusas — a sign of trouble to come.

Although Haremheb (1350-1320) had done much to restore the land of Egypt to a position of rank and power in the eyes of other nations after its ruinous experiment with Akhenaten's religion, still he had to leave the completion of his work to others. Ramesses I (1320-1319), first king of the Nineteenth Dynasty, not only displayed great initiative architecturally but reorganized the army in his very brief reign. Sethos I (1319-1301), a most driving and martial spirit, then set himself to the task of subduing the Bedawin and Shos of Asia and in his first cam-

⁽¹⁾ For an excellent brief statement of this knotty problem, confer G. E. Wright, "Epic of Conquest", in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, III (1940), pp. 26-40.

⁽²⁾ See above, p. 32.

THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST DURING THE ARAMEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD.

paign set up a stele in Beth Shan (¹). Places listed as conquered by him are Yeno'am, Pella, and Hrnt, while the Phoenician coast must have become his again, as Tyre certainly did (²). A clash with the Hittites was inevitable, and a stele found at Tell Nebi Mindu shows a decisive victory of this Pharaoh over Muwatallis at Kadesh on the Orontes. The kingdom of Amurrû thus fell to Sethos I and Ed. Meyer correctly sees these events reflected in the later treaty of Khattusilis III (c. 1290) with Benteshina of Amurrû (³). Muwatallis had deposed the latter but Khattusilis, the brother and successor of Muwatallis on the Hittite throne, reinstated him and gave him his own daughter in marriage. These acts were confirmed by Tudkhalias IV (c. 1240) who adds that after a secession of the Amorites to the Egyptians from Muwatallis, he had conquered them again and made Shabili their king — but even this king Khattusilis had deposed in favor of Benteshina (⁴). Naturally enough, Hittite "embarrassments" with Egypt are not mentioned in these texts. The death of Sethos I gave no surcease, for the accession of Ramesses II (1301-1234) meant an unbelievably long reign of 67 years committed to the achievement of his father's policy both at home and abroad. Muwatallis by means of an embassy made a friendly diplomatic gesture, but soon saw himself forced to make an "all-out" effort to hold off the Egyptian hosts. Naharin, Carchemish, Aleppo, Ugarit, Nukhashshe, all vassal states down to Kadesh (Kinza) itself were gathered — charioteers, archers and lancers — Semites, Hurrians and Hittites — to do battle. It is not our purpose here to paint in detail the battle of Kadesh on the Orontes. Ramesses II himself has already seen to that millennia ago (⁵). Recent studies (⁶) have helped to clear up certain features of it, irreconcilable up until now. The advance troops of the Pharaoh had encamped near Kadesh in preparation for the siege but the Hittites, who lay concealed behind the city, launched their chariot charge before the Pharaoh was aware of their presence. They put the Re division to rout and were finally stopped only within the Egyptian camp itself (Fig. 30). Salvation came for the Egyptians only by their advancing reinforcements which succeeded in repelling the attack and in driving the Hittites into the Orontes. It was a Pyrrhic victory, however, and could not lead to a conclusive outcome. Three years later, in the eighth year of his reign, Ramesses succeeded in penetrating deep into Syria, not only to take Dapur "in the region of the city of Tunip in the land of Naharin", but deeper still to storm a fortress "in the land of Qedi in the region of Naharin" (⁷). But with such exploits the far-ranging aspirations of Egyptian conquerors were never realized. After Ramesses II the most northerly border was never beyond the Eleutherus valley; we know that Palestine was always within it until the Assyrians under Assurbanapal in the seventh century finally overcame the Egyptians for good. In the meantime within the Hittite kingdom new complications set in after Muwatallis had died (c. 1278?). His son Urkhi-Teshup was placed on his father's throne by Khattusilis III, his uncle, who, finally, after repeated indulgence toward the boy despite

(¹) Cf. E. Ranke's translation in *ATG*, 2, p. 95.

(²) J. Breasted, *AR*, III, 89 and Ed. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, p. 435.

(³) *BKSt.*, 9, pp. 124 ff.

(⁴) This is based on a text only partly published even today since H. Winckler first gave extracts from it in his "Vorderasien im 2. Jahrtausend", *MVAG*, 18, 4 (1913), pp. 98 ff.

(⁵) Cf. Breasted, *AR*, III, 306-351 and his *The Battle of Kadesh* (Decennial Publications), Chicago, 1903.

(⁶) J. Sturm, *Der Hettiterkrieg Ramses II.*, Wien (1939); cf. J. Friedrich, *OLZ*, 43 (1940), 360-362.

(⁷) Ed. Meyer, *GA*, II, 1, p. 471.

his treacherous dealing, banished him beyond the sea. At the same time the danger that had threatened so ominously in the days of Assur-uballit I once more started to come perilously close to the west lands, especially under Adad-nirari I (1304-1273). It was doubtless this menace, coupled with exhaustion from constant warfare with the Egyptians, that brought Khattusilis III to conclude peace with Ramesses II in 1278 on terms of mutual assistance against foreign or domestic enemies of the respective parties, and of extradition of fugitives⁽¹⁾. This treaty was of lasting duration and some twenty years later the Pharaoh received the daughter of Khattusilis in marriage. An inscription tells "what was unheard of since the age of the gods that Khatti and Egypt are of one heart". With the death of the Hittite king, however, the history of this kingdom hastens to its close. His son Tudkhalias IV (c. 1240) made a treaty with Ishtarmuwa, the Amorite prince, and, though vexed with problems in Asia Minor, remained hostile towards his Assyrian contemporary, Tukulti-Ninurta I. This policy was even more rigorously followed by his son and co-regent Arnuwandas. The latter in turn made his son Tudkhalias V co-regent. This son probably lived to see his kingdom crumble and crash before the driving blows of the Sea Peoples who threatened to overrun Egypt itself⁽²⁾. These tribes from the North Mediterranean, including Etruscans, Sardinians and a vast migration from the Grecian mainland, swept eastward to complete their invasion by 1190 B.C., and just as the Hittites collapsed utterly, so also were the Egyptians rendered ineffectual (Fig. 31). Marniptah (1234-?) was busily engaged in his Libyan wars and although his Israel stele shows he had some control in Palestine, while a later ruler, Ramesses III (1195-1165), moved against North Syria, yet Egyptian control in Palestine was purely nominal by 1150, and in the time of Ramesses XII (c. 1070) the Wen-amun inscription tells us how a Byblian prince could show open derision toward the ambassador from the Nile country.

Thus it is that these preceding pages unfold the history of Aram Naharaim at its western extremity and at the same time explain how it is that, even though the Aramaeans penetrated into the west so far that the Phoenicians were restricted to the coastal region from Accho in the south to Arvad in the north, they nevertheless were not able to play any major political role in this period, forming no states themselves, but at best acting as mercenaries for others. The formation of states like Damascus, Hamath, etc., will engage us in the following chapter. It will be interesting, therefore, by comparison or contrast, to see how they evolved in both the eastern and northern part of the Fertile Crescent.

2. Aramaeans in Eastern and Northern Mesopotamia.

There can be no doubt not only that, as the Bedawin expanded, they tended to flood the regions toward the west, but that the chronicle recording the slaughter of great numbers of the Sutū, as mentioned on the last page of the preceding chapter, proves that they were encroaching steadily also on the cultivated areas of Babylonia. We know that at this particular time relations were strained between Babylonia and Assyria, for from both the so-called "Synchro-

(1) *BKSt.*, IX, 8, pp. 112-123. An Egyptian version of the treaty, glorifying Ramesses II, was also found in Karnak.

(2) *Bilabel*, *GV*, pp. 162-164, and especially pp. 231-244.

nous History" and Chronicle P it is clear that Assur-uballit marched into Babylonia to avenge the death of his grandson, called Kadashman-Harbe (or Karakhardash in the Synchronous History), upon the Cassites and to place another grandson, Kurigalzu III, son of Burnaburiash II, on the throne there. It had been Kadashman-Harbe who had driven out the Sutû and had constructed fortresses in the Syrian desert as outposts of security. But under the term Sutû we must understand Akhlâmu; for several contemporaneous Cassite texts yield the term *Ahlâmu* as an appellative, "nomads" (¹), and the term Sutû was archaic for Semitic nomads. The Akhlâmu were apparently pushing forward in a southeasterly direction. The later cuneiform inscriptions speak of the Kaldu as the nomadic opponents of the Assyrian conquerors. According to a well-known phonetic law of Middle Babylonian whereby *s* or *š* became *l* before a dental, this word reflects an older *Kasdu* = *Kesed*, *Kasdim*. Significantly enough, these latter are descendants of Kesed, whom Hebrew tradition preserves as an uncle of Aram, and both are descendants of Nachor, brother of Abraham (Gen. 22: 20 ff.). The Kaldu are found particularly in the south just as the Aramaeans flood the north. They impinge upon the borders of civilization, even making minor settlements called after the sheikh of the tribe so that just as in later Israel to be called the "son of Omri" meant really *mâr bit humrî*, so here in southern Babylonia a son of Yakin was a *mâr bit Yakin* "a man of the house of Yakin". Such a phrase is of great value in indicating the transition to a more sedentary way of life, especially in later times when a Bit-Adini or a Bit-Zamâni were established states. But earlier they were less stable abodes and their inhabitants were often transient wanderers. Dhorme has rightly seen in the use of the term *ra-sa-a-ni*, "heads" or "chieftains", to denote the leaders of the Kaldu, a confirmation of their tribal character (²). In a similar way Tiglath-pileser III called their leaders *malkê* "princes" rather than *šarrâni* "kings". What a danger they could be, though, to vital communications between Kadashman-Enlil II (c. 1267-1255) and Khattusilis III, who was ever keeping a watchful eye on the Assyrians, is shown by a letter of his to the Cassite king, "As regards what my brother has written: 'If I have held back my messengers, it is because the *Ah-la-mu-ú* are hostile that I have held back my messengers!'. What does this word mean? That you, my brother, because of the *Ah-la-me-i*, you have held back your messenger! Is the kingship of my brother's kingship so small?" (³). Farther north in Assyria, the collapse of Assyria after Tiglath-pileser I seems to have been caused by a renewed invasion of the Aramaeans and shortly later the Babylonian monarch Marduk-shâpik-zer-mâti was ousted from his kingdom by Adad-apal-iddin I (1063-1042), who is explicitly called an Aramaean usurper. In the ninth century and later they continued to pour in and become Babylonized.

The text just quoted makes it quite clear that these sons of the desert had also penetrated far into the north of the Fertile Crescent and we are not lacking direct testimony of this. The Assyrian annals leave no doubt that from the fourteenth to the seventh centuries they flooded this area and from the fourteenth to the twelfth centuries proved desperately hard to suppress. We shall be brief in illustrating this point so as to enlarge more freely upon other pertinent topics. After the death of Assur-uballit, we read of the Akhlâmu and Sutû being overcome by Adad-nirari I (1304-1273) (⁴). They must have been pushing steadily northward, for, some

(¹) Streck, *MVA G*, XI (1906), 3, p. 41.

(²) P. Dhorme, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

(³) *KBo*, I, n. 10, 11, 36 ff.

(⁴) D. D. Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, p. 28.

forty years later, Shalmaneser I (1272-1243) routed Satuara king of Hanigalbat, together with a large body of auxiliary Akhlāmu and Hittites⁽¹⁾. Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1242-1206) in a campaign up the Euphrates, went from Rapiqu westwards "to the mountains of the *Akhłamu*"⁽²⁾. Assur-resh-ishi I (1132-1115) avenged Assyria by defeating the Akhlāmu, the Lullumū and Qutū⁽³⁾. At this time the Akhlāmu occupied the land from Suḥu on the lower Euphrates westward to Carchemish. Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) we know as an emperor ruling from the Lower Zab to the Mediterranean, and the Aramaeans, whose name first occurs under him in Assyrian records, were certainly in his power. He describes the region of his encounters thus: "From the town of Tadmor of the Amurrū country, the city Anat of the Suḥu lands and up to the city Rapiqu of the land of Karduniash, I accomplished their defeat and brought their booty and goods to my city Assur"⁽⁴⁾. And yet the conquering of the *Akhłamu* required twenty-eight crossings of the Euphrates! A period of decadence then befell Assyria and it was only with Adad-nirari II (911-891) that the Akhlāmu and the Aramu (written Arimi)⁽⁵⁾ were subjected once more at the sources of the Khabur and beyond the Euphrates. And so the tale goes on into the following centuries that do not directly concern this study. How well the Assyrians remembered the Akhlāmu as their traditional enemy in the west is brought out strikingly in a late Assyrian astrological report, "(If the moon is seen) on the thirtieth of Nisan, then: *subartu^{ki} aḥ-la-mu-ú ikkal lišānu a-ḥi-tum māt amurri^{ki} i-be-el*; Subartu will devour the *Akhłamu*, a foreign tongue will rule Amurrū"⁽⁶⁾. Lest his fellow Assyrians might not understand "Subartu", the scribe adds *a-ni-nu SU.BIR^{ki}*, "we are Subartu"; and since Amurrū is west⁽⁷⁾, the *Akhłamu* are evidently in the west land also. It is apparent from the foregoing that the Aramaeans showed a remarkable concentration in the northwest and that they were able to strike deeper root there than in the southeast or in the west near the Mediterranean coast. And so it is advisable to examine the origins and account, if possible, for the development of the Aramaean states.

It has been remarked that particularly in the time of Assur-resh-ishi, the Akhlāmu were beginning to settle down. In the twelfth century, particularly in the days of Tiglath-pileser I, the Aramaeans were established in principalities, often entitled *bit N.*, showing the tribal origin of small dynasties. Of these various Aramaean states some became powerful units such as Bit-Adini and the later Damascene power, while others remained comparatively small, and dangerous only when united with others. Were the reader to have taken part in an Assyrian campaign towards the west, doubtless one of the nearest of these would be *Suḥu*, written *māt Suḥi*, pronounced *ṣūhi*, and clearly identical with the שׁוּחַ of Gen. 25:2 and שׁוּחַ of Job 2:11. It lay on the lower Euphrates below its confluence with the Khabur and extended from Hindān south to Rapiqu⁽⁸⁾. Its capital was centered at Anat on an island in the Euphrates and could boast of the city Haridu and a fortress Suru on the eastern shore. In this region as well as in Hindān

(¹) *Ibid.*, p. 40.

(²) *Ibid.*, p. 57.

(³) *Ibid.*, p. 70.

(⁴) *KAH*, II, 71, 11. 20-23; III, 63, 11. 9-14.

(⁵) Luckenbill, *ibid.*, I, pp. 111, 112, 115.

(⁶) R. C. Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, London (1900), n. 62.

(⁷) See above pp. 18-21.

(⁸) E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 13; Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 108.

just to the north, Tiglath-pileser I worsted the *Aḥlāmu*, and later in the ninth century Assurnāsir-apli II reported similar victories. Since other references regarding Ḥindān and Laḳē (*māt La-ki-e*), north of Ḥindān, occur after the tenth century B. C., they fall outside the scope of our study, and the same observation will hold for other states as well. Besides, the campaigns of the later Assyrian conquerors are already well known. However, these later inscriptions, especially those of Assur-nāsir-apli II (884-859), telling that rich booty was plundered and countless captives were taken, reveal how and where Aramaean groups clustered to form growing and prosperous little states. This is true of Bit-Ḥalupe situated on the eastern shore of the Khabur, and also of the kingdoms of Bit-Zamāni and Shupria, regions thickly Aramaean at the same late period. These two also represent the farthest penetration to the north of the Aramaeans, for the former lies along the southern shore of the last upper reaches of the Tigris with its capital at Diyarbekir and the latter somewhat to the south, more within the region of the Kashiari mountains and northeastern region of Mt. Karacadağ. Earlier, the king of Shupria is mentioned in a letter which portrays him as caught in the cross-fire of a war of nerves between Khattusilis III and Adad-nirari I (1304-1272)⁽¹⁾. How storm-swept this hilly country was in the late Assyrian times is well presented by Sina Schiffer⁽²⁾.

At this point of our Mesopotamian survey it is natural to consider for a brief space the fact that excavations carried out at Tell Ḥalaf⁽³⁾ in 1912 brought to light a palace of the Aramaean Kapara, son of Khadianu, as his cuneiform inscriptions show. This Aramaean prince ruled in the tenth century⁽⁴⁾ (probably c. 925 B. C.), and although this date is much later than many scholars contend (see pp. 114 ff.), it was comparatively early for the existence of an independent state. Kapara is called king of the land *Pa-li-e* but the reading is uncertain, nor is it agreed where the Hittite state Pala is anyway⁽⁵⁾. From later inscriptions we know that a certain Abisalamu, in the region of Gōzān, was called *mār bit-Bahiāni*⁽⁶⁾, and that *Bit-Bahiāni* was undoubtedly the kingdom of Kapara is clear when we realize that later about 808 B. C. the region of Tell Ḥalaf near the source of the Khabur became the Assyrian province of Guzānu (biblical Gōzān, e. g., 1 Kgs. 17:6; 18:11; Isai. 37:12)⁽⁷⁾, and under Adad-nirari III (811-782) included Nisibis within its jurisdiction. How far, however, the earlier rule of Kapara extended, our sources do not tell us nor do we know the fortunes of his house, but the existence of his kingdom is another striking example of how the Aramaeans had taken deep root in the new country.

⁽¹⁾ Bilabel, *GV*, p. 319.

⁽²⁾ *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-152.

⁽³⁾ Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf*, Leipzig (1921).

⁽⁴⁾ E. Unger, "Cusana", *RLV*, IV, p. 581. An alternative which he admits, however, "Möglichlicherweise ist Kapara in diese Zeit anzusetzen", i. e., in the period 867-807 B. C., is impossible as we shall point out when discussing the orthostates of Tell Ḥalaf.

⁽⁵⁾ B. Meissner, "Die Keilschrifttexte auf den steinernen Orthostaten und Statuen aus dem Tell Ḥalaf", Oppenheim Festschrift, *AfO* (1933), Beiband 1, pp. 71-79. Cf. H. Otten, "Zum Palaischen", *ZA*, 48 (1944), pp. 119-145.

⁽⁶⁾ In an inscription of Adad-nirari II (*KAH*, II, no. 84, 11. 100 ff.), we read *nārha-bur lu e-bir a-na a-gu-za-a-ni šá labi-sa-la-mu mār ba-ḥi-a-ni u-kal-lu-u-ni lu a-lik*, "I crossed the Khabur, I went to the city of Guzana which Abisalāmu of Bit-Bahiāni held in his possession". Concerning Bit-Bahiāni see E. Forrer, *RLA*, I, pp. 295 ff. and especially E. Weidner, "Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf", *AfO* (1940), Beiheft 6, p. 1.

⁽⁷⁾ E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 23.

These localities are often characterized as *mât Arime* and so we know how the earlier Aramaeans tended to group together into distinct political units in definite areas. The land of Aram-Naharaim, including the Khabur basin, would be the next Aramaean country on our march to the west, for which we refer to Chapter VII. In any event, enough has been already said of this region, especially about Harran, to illustrate its thoroughly Aramaean character. References to Bit-Adini, both in Assyrian inscriptions (*mât bît A-di-ni*)⁽¹⁾ and in the Bible (בֵּית עֲדִינִי Am. 1:5; בְּנֵי עֲדִינִי 2 Kgs. 19:12 and Isai. 37:12; עֲדִינִי Ez. 27:23) are mostly late, but from the records of Assur-nâsir-apli and his successor Shalmaneser III (859-824) we learn it was a center of resistance, the one obstacle to a march to the Mediterranean, and an opulent prize when taken. Although it is not always easy to fix precise physical limits to these states from our sources, Bit-Adini was nevertheless situated on both sides of the Euphrates with its capital at Tell Barsip⁽²⁾, and it exerted great influence to the east, since the Assyrian records bring out unmistakably that it was the most powerful of the Aramaean states in Mesopotamia. In the same region the city of Pitru on the Euphrates (biblical *Pethor*) was settled by Assyrians in the eleventh century and conquered by Aramaeans in the early tenth century⁽³⁾. We are safe in concluding therefore that *bît-Adini*, which was first called *mât mâr Adini* by Adad-nirari II in the late tenth century, had so grown up about the land of Carchemish⁽⁴⁾ that by the year 900 B. C. it was a kingdom able to measure strength with the Assyrians. This was natural, for Carchemish, previously Hittite, had united northeastern Syria under itself after the collapse of the Hittite empire, and had presumably absorbed the Aramaic settlement of Sam'al at about this same time⁽⁵⁾. Looking farther south beyond Antilibanus, the formation of such states as Zobah, Beth Rehob and Maacah occurs late also, but is best treated when dealing with Israel.

In trying to evaluate the foregoing considerations we note first of all that, apart from the state on the Euphrates which was later to be called Bit-Adini, all the other Aramaean states appear as established political units comparatively late, and yet we know that the Aramaean nomads had been penetrating into Mesopotamia for centuries before. There seems only one explanation. The Assyrian empire from the time of Enlil-nirari (1326-1317) to Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) had achieved and maintained such a peak of martial vigor and organization, implemented materially with all the new machines of war that the Iron Age had introduced, that, if they could not check the influx and expansion of these desert hordes, at least they could prevent their merging into a unity as settled and powerful as the Mitanni state had been. But they did more

⁽¹⁾ Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, 474-477 for Assur-nâsir-apli; 559-561, 601, 608-609 for Shalmaneser III.

⁽²⁾ After Shalmaneser IV (782-773) a certain Samsi-ilu had come to dominate practically the whole Haran region, as inscriptions from Tell Barsip inform us; cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *R.A.*, 27 (1930), p. 11 ff. This power was destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III (744-727) who divided up the former provinces and created royal residences at different points, one of these being Tell Barsip. Another such residence was at Arslan-Tash; this is the site of the ancient *Hadâtu*, which, however, does not seem to have been an important center before the time of Tiglath-pileser III. It lies at a distance of some nineteen miles east from Carchemish; cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, A. Barrois, G. Dossin et M. Dunand, *Arslan-Tash*, Texte, Paris (1931), pp. 5-9.

⁽³⁾ W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam", *JBI*, LXIII (1944), p. 211, n. 15.

⁽⁴⁾ E. Weidner in "Die Annalen des Königs Aššur-dan II. von Assyrien", *AfO*, 3 (1926), p. 156, notes 3 and 11, shows that the expression *mâta-ri-mi* and *mâta-ru-mu* of lines 15 and 23 respectively on the obverse of the text from the time of Assyrian king (934-912 B. C.) refer to the region of Carchemish and probably to the later Bit-Adini.

⁽⁵⁾ E. Forrer, "Aramu", *RLA*, pp. 132 ff.

than that. Their untiring opposition, ever returning to the test, diverted the main course of these migrations to the northwest, and thus it was in northern Syria that the Aramaeans surged forward, deploying to the north and south of the isolated Hittite centers and so becoming political entities decades before the other Aramaean states. These latter, situated in Mesopotamia at varying distances from Assyria, as described, could evidently not form until the Middle Assyrian empire was broken in the early tenth century B. C. Later, when Assyrian might resurged in the early part of the ninth century, they appear as established kingdoms, each with its own king and capital. Why in the period of one century's formation, from the tenth to the ninth, they did not also coalesce into a single mightier kingdom, dominating all Upper Mesopotamia, after the manner of Mari (middle eighteenth century) or, even more so, like Mitanni (fifteenth century), is a question the answer to which should not be too difficult. It was not due to a reluctance on the part of these Semites to submerge the tribal traditions on which, one recalls, their individual kingdoms were based, in the life of a larger national unity, for Mari and Babylon I have given us examples of the opposite. The answer seems to be twofold: first, and this in itself is sufficient, is lingering Assyrian opposition, for, although we may be sure that these states started to form in the eleventh century when Assyria was considerably weakened soon after Tiglath-pileser's death (c. 1076), still definite crystallization of these political units could not have taken place, in all probability, except in the course of the tenth century. Evidence for this statement is at hand in the fact that it was not until the reign of Assur-rabi II (1012-972) that the Assyrian colonies planted by Tiglath-pileser I at Pitru and Mutkinu on the Euphrates were finally overcome and absorbed by the Aramaeans, so that if Assyria had weakened in the meantime, she had by no means collapsed. When we reflect that it was not long before she fully revived under Assurdan II (934-912) and especially Adad-nirari II (911-891) there can be no wonder that a large-scale Aramaean kingdom, comparable to Mitanni, was not formed. There was hardly any time for it. As a second reason for this, it cannot be denied that at this period the whole population of Mesopotamia was much too heterogeneous as contrasted with its predominantly Semitic character, for example, in the Mari period. Strong elements of the Mitannians lingered on, and the Mushqi penetrated from the northwest, not to speak of the presence of older ethnic groups, so that any individual strong state, Bit-Adini let us say, since it did have control over some vassal princedoms such as Bit-Bahiāni, Aṣalli and Til-abni, would have had a most difficult task in trying to unite all these lands and peoples into a single mighty kingdom.

We have followed the Aramaeans from their earliest beginnings and seen how the Sutū or Akhlāmu, spreading north from the Syro-Arabian desert during the fourteenth century and later, menaced the settled areas from Amurrū to Babylon, and how especially the Akhlāmu then appeared as Aramaeans in the twelfth century, already well across the Euphrates in their wanderings. Finding their path effectively blocked in the east, they veered to the west, concentrating in the region of Harran. In general their invasion had been a gradual nomadic infiltration. In this sense of possession, the formation of later Aramaean states is a matter of secondary importance, for even when all political independence was eventually lost, the land and the people were still Aramaean. However, in the period following the Mitanni Kingdom, they were not the only people who built up the history of Mesopotamia. We must devote more than incidental attention to the Assyrians and other peoples, whom the Aramaeans encountered in the Land of the Two Rivers.

B) The Middle Assyrian Empire.

The Assyrian power that had started to reassert itself under Assur-nâdin-ahhê and had in short order become a state of the first magnitude under Assur-uballit I, sweeping far to the west once more against the Akhlâmu, and taking active part in the affairs of Babylon, as we have seen, was not to grow weak for many centuries. The next Assyrian king, Enlil-nirari I (1326-1317), found occasion once more to move against the southern state when he conquered Kurigalzu. Babylon was then in such a weakened condition as no longer to constitute a serious threat and so Arik-dênu-ilu, the following Assyrian ruler, turned his attention completely to the north and west. Not only did he overcome the lands of Nigimtu and Turuqqu but passed on to subdue the land of Kummuh, earlier Kutmuh, close to Shupria, the country of the Qutû, and the Yauru region also. How he had to restrain the desert nomads we have already pointed out. The same task awaited his son Adad-nirari I (1304-1273), who also had to settle accounts with Babylon once more, defeating Nazimaruttash II and fixing his border possibly near Rapiqu. In the northeast he conquered the Lullumû, and farther west he took the fortress of Elukhat on the upper Tigris and the whole region of the Kashiari mountains. Almost all of the older Mitanni cities fell to him without difficulty, including Taidi, Shuri, Washshukkani and Kabat, most of these sites lying near the earlier northern border of that kingdom. His chief opponent here was Satuara I whom he brought captive to Assur, and then released after he had sworn allegiance and promised yearly tribute to Assyria⁽¹⁾. After Satuara's death the rebellion of his son Wâsasatta caused Adad-nirari to invade Hanigalbat once more. His conquests did not cease until he reached the Euphrates. This was shortly before or shortly after the battle of Kadesh (1296), when all the Hittite vassals and allies united under Muwatallis to give battle to Rameses II, since Egypt and Assyria must have been allies at the time. Hence the Assyrian advance may have even coincided with the battle⁽²⁾. At any rate, for the first time since the days of Shamshi-Adad I, an Assyrian ruler called himself *šar kiššati* with some claim to the title. His predecessor Arik-dênu-ilu was the first to give us what developed into regular Assyrian annals, and both he and his successor devoted their energies to repairing and building temples and city walls in Assur⁽³⁾.

The king who completed the trio of these dynamic and imperialistic Assyrians was Shalmaneser I (1272-1243), the first Assyrian monarch to outline in detail his military exploits⁽⁴⁾. His first move was to suppress a rebellion in Uruatru, later Urartru⁽⁵⁾, subjecting eight countries in three days; then he destroyed the city of Arinna and humbled the land of Muşru⁽⁶⁾, passing on

⁽¹⁾ E. Weidner, "Die Kämpfe Adadniraris I. gegen Hanigalbat", *AfO*, 5 (1928-29), pp. 89-100.

⁽²⁾ S. Smith (*EHA*, p. 274) has suggested that the Assyrian advance took place after the battle, but without definitely deciding.

⁽³⁾ There seems no reason for concluding with Fr. Bilabel (*GU*, pp. 146, 175) that he was a contemporary of Suppiluliumas, Tuishrata, and Matiwaza, solely because the text of *KBo*, I, 3, Vs. 1-7, indicates that two generations earlier Assyria appeared as tributary to the Hanigalbatian kings.

⁽⁴⁾ *KAH*, I, n. 13; D. Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, nos. 113-117.

⁽⁵⁾ E. Forrer, *Provinzenteilung*, p. 37.

⁽⁶⁾ Neither is Arinna to be placed near Mt. Taurus nor Muşru in Cappadocia as Meissner (*KB.I*, p. 102) contends, for it destroys the order of the whole recital, which clearly follows the actual march of the king.

through difficult terrain until his troops had surrounded "Satuara, king of Hanigalbat, the army of Hittites and *Ah̪lāmu* with him... He cut off the passes and my water supply. Because of thirst and fatigue my army bravely advanced into the masses of their troops, I fought a battle and I accomplished their defeat...". It was an utter rout. The Assyrian captured nine cities, lay waste one hundred and eighty more, "slaughtered like sheep" the Hittites and Akhlāmu and brought under his sway "the whole Kashiari mountain region... as far as Carchemish". Subsequently he devastated the Qutū hosts from Uruaṭru to Kutmuḥ, and again the Lullumū and Shubarū. We behold here, then, the storming of the last stronghold of what had survived from the older Mitanni kingdom (Hanigalbat), stretching from the Tūr 'Abdin area northwestwards to Melitene, and now finally yielded by Satuara II. Yet the record of this war, though it meant overwhelming victory for the Assyrians, also explains why they did not surge on westward past Carchemish, even at the high tide of victory. There can be no doubt that the Hittite army allied to Satuara was concrete evidence of the deep concern with which Khattusilis III eyed the Assyrians. His firm pact with Ramesses II and his apparent friendliness with Kadashman-Turgu (c. 1284-1268) of Babylon are fair indications of a triple entente against Assyria. We need not wonder then why, despite his victory up to the Euphrates, Shalmaneser I did not carry it beyond. At home it was Shalmaneser who adorned many temples and founded the city of Calah, the capital of late Assyrian times.

His son, Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206), came to power with aspirations in many new directions. Not only did he dominate Babylon again but ventured far into the northwestern extremity of Nairu, so as to be the first known Assyrian conqueror to near Asia Minor; from Nairu he brought back forty-three captive kings to Assyria⁽¹⁾. Our most plentiful and precise references to the Subarians are in his inscriptions⁽²⁾ and in the course of his conquests he brought back 29,000 Hittites from beyond the Euphrates to be settled in his own land while he incorporated parts of their empire into his own. What magnified him greatly in the eyes of posterity was his complete triumph over Kashtiliash III⁽³⁾, king of Babylon; in a second campaign he also took the statue of Marduk from there. In order to accomplish the downfall of Babylon securely, he had secured his western flank by first taking Mari, Khana, and Rapiqu, and then marching to the "mountains of the *Ah̪lāmu*", a unique campaign since it was executed in the desert west of Babylonia⁽⁴⁾. From all his conquests he won an elaborate titulary, "king of Assyria, king of Karduniash, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of Sippar and Babylon, king of Dilmun and Meluhha, king of upper and lower seas, king of the mountains and widespread plains, king of the Shubarū, Qutū and all the Nairu-lands; the king... who receives the heavy tribute of the four regions (of the world)

Arguments for similar views found in Ebeling, Meissner and Weidner, *AOB*, I, p. 115, n. 6 and p. 63, n. 11, are not convincing; cf. Bilabel, *GV*, p. 186, n. 1 and Smith, *EHA*, p. 262. This Muṣru is difficult to locate; Bilabel is inclined to put it in southeastern Asia Minor whereas Smith would put it east, or southeast of Irbil. The tenor of our text, in any case, excludes from consideration the Muṣri tentatively described by E. Weidner as being in North Arabia, i. e., south of Palestine and extending in the direction of Egypt; cf. E. Weidner, "Šilkan(h)e(n)i, König von Muṣri, ein Zeitgenosse Sargons II.", *AjO*, 14 (1941-42), pp. 45, 46.

⁽¹⁾ *KAH*, II, 60.

⁽²⁾ The different and mutually complementary texts are noted conveniently by Bilabel, *GV*, p. 176, n. 3.

⁽³⁾ S. Smith, *EHA*, p. 286.

in the city of Assur...". For all of this, however, he came to an untimely end at the hands of his son, Assur-nâdin-apli (1205-1203) in the new capital he had built at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta above Assur on the Tigris. The rising of this son with the aid of Assyrian nobles had possibly been connected with a popular Babylonian movement ⁽¹⁾. At all events, a period of rapid change and confusion followed, the details of which do not concern us here. Assyria became relatively weak for some eighty years (c. 1206-1127), practically the same time as when the Hittites lay completely at the mercy of the Sea Peoples. In this period it is important to note that, although Assur-dan I (1178-1133) had regained some little power, still Nebuchadrezzar I, the Babylonian ruler (c. 1126-1103), could also boast of having conquered Mesopotamia and brought back the statue of Marduk to his city. Yet, unlike the Hittites, the Assyrians, whose decline had undoubtedly been caused in part also by the activity of the Elamites ⁽²⁾, were no longer to remain helpless. With Assur-resh-ishi (1132-1115), after almost a century's silence, inscriptions reappear and we know that he worsted Nebuchadrezzar in battle. Now free, he ranged far from Assur, defeating the Lullumû in the east, the Qutû in the northeast, and those plundering nomads, the Akhlâmu, in the west. At Apqu, in the desert, northwest of Nineveh, he established a fort as a threat and a defense against them. Farther north, it is true, apart from the Subarians, who were identified at this time with the inhabitants of Nairu and of the northern mountainous regions, and apart from the Hittites who were still scattered elements to the northwest, a new people, the Mushqi ⁽³⁾, started to appear in the early twelfth century B. C. They were large groups, partly at least of Thraco-Phrygian origin, who moved eastward through Asia Minor to occupy the region of Melitene and so constituted a serious obstacle to Assyria's plans of conquering the rich metal centers of the west. Yet Assyria was well on its way, for Assur-resh-ishi in strengthening his realm had forged for his successor a fit instrument for this purpose.

When Tiglath-pileser I (1114-1076) ⁽⁴⁾ ascended the throne of his father, the Mushqi were already east of the Euphrates, had held the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzi for fifty years, and had even seized Kutmuḥ, but they were overcome by the Assyrian after his march through the north. Six thousand of them he settled in his realm. Then he attacked Kummuḥ, storming them and their Paphi allies in the mountain fastnesses; from the Gashga and Urmians he also won great booty and led off four thousand prisoners. In the next year he attacked Kummuḥ furiously again and incorporated the land into his own realm. After registering then his victories to the east beyond the little Zab, he speaks of subjecting Ishua, which would indicate a northwesterly

⁽¹⁾ E. Weidner in "Studien zur Zeitgeschichte Tukulti-Ninurtas I.", *AfO*, 13 (1939-41), pp. 109-124, presents the plausible reconstruction that after his second conquest of Babylonia, Tukulti-Ninurta felt Assyria was too weak to continue further conquests. In the meantime he had been struck with admiration for the southern Babylonian culture and imported into Assyria great numbers of Babylonians and Cassites; it is not to be excluded that even the conquered Kashtiliash became a leading figure in Assyria, if he is the same as the *Kaštiliašu* who is mentioned as one of the eponyms in Assyria. In any case, this pro-Babylonian enthusiasm found little favor with Assyrian magnates and priests. The uneasy position of the king seems reflected in his shifting from one new residence to another, until finally in his retreat outside the city, Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, he met his tragic end.

⁽²⁾ F. Bilabel, *GU*, p. 179; S. Smith, *EHA*, p. 295.

⁽³⁾ The *Ἄσσοι* of Gen. 10:2 (LXX: MOCOX) and the *Μόσχοι* of the later Greeks.

⁽⁴⁾ The inscriptions of this mighty king are conveniently collected in translation in Luckenbill, *IRAB*, II, pp. 72-104; cf. *KAH*, II, no. 160.

shift in Tiglath-pileser's campaign. His third regnal year was also spent in vigorous prosecution of the wars in the east, but his fourth spells the highlight of his career in the sense of scope and importance. His expedition was aimed at the Nairu country "on the shore of the Upper Sea". Penetrating, as no Assyrian king had done before him, into narrow defiles and untrodden ways, he passed through the mountains, and, following his own account, he arrived at the Euphrates, to cross which his troops felled *urumu*-trees and made bridges. Like a whirlwind unleashed, he overthrew the twenty-three kings of Nairu, naming the districts each ruled⁽¹⁾, and pursued sixty more of them to the sea. Melid and Hanigalbat he also subjected, and returned to Assur by way of the latter. The taking of young princes as hostages may indicate a policy of indoctrination on the part of the Assyrians for the more secure administration of their provinces. Yet this proved no more successful here than in the case of Egyptian rule in Palestine and Syria, not because the Assyrians were unconcerned like the Egyptians about their provinces, far from it, but because the subject peoples, particularly the Aramaeans, would simply have nothing to do with them. Thus it was that in the very next year, as seems most likely, he struck out almost due west towards 'Anat, the capital of Suḥu, and pursued the unruly masses of the Akhlāmu all the way to Carchemish in the land of Khatti, which for the Assyrians meant the country west of the Euphrates. They had to be put down again and again, and it may well be repeated here that Tiglath-pileser made twenty-eight campaigns, sometimes two in the same year, to dominate these nomads. In the year following his campaign against the Akhlāmu, he secured his northeastern frontiers by warring against Muṣru and capturing its capital Kibshuna. Tribute and hostages from Qumanu followed. In the course of six years the Assyrian king had conquered forty-two countries from the Lower Zab to the Mediterranean. Nor did he stop there; in the following years he knocked at the gates of Amurrū and Phoenicia. The mere sight of his armies was the key that opened to him the gates and the coffers of Gubla (Byblos), Sidon, and Arvad: By sea he made a journey to Șumur and was altogether pleased with the new experiences of this campaign. At this time, any possible intervention on the part of Egypt was simply out of question. To complete his dreams of empire, Tiglath-pileser I made two campaigns against Babylon, before which, however, he protected his western flank by once more subjecting and plundering the regions of Ḫindān and Suḥu on the middle Euphrates. Babylon and its cities fell completely into his hands, and its king Marduk-nādin-ahhē found his death. Tiglath-pileser I was beyond any doubt greater than any Assyrian ruler before him and under him the empire expanded and annexed territories not even reached by his predecessors. Nor was he obsessed with ideas of military glory alone, but was concerned, as he reminds us, for the welfare of his subjects, ruling them wisely, and beautifying the city of Assur with palace and temples.

"After the death of Tiglath-pileser I the throne of Babylon was usurped by the invading Aramaeans, an episode to which we have already referred. The Aramaean usurper Adad-apal-

(1) These districts are hard to locate (cf. Smith, *EHA*, p. 300). In trying to identify them, one may be prejudiced by what he understands by the term "Upper Sea". For example, F. Bilabel is so certain that it means Lake Van (*GV*, p. 184, n. 2) that he logically is forced to say, "Ob allerdings die Erwähnung der Euphratüberschreitung in diesem Zusammenhange, also vor der Niederwerfung des Nairilandes, nicht ein *lapsus calami* ist, scheint mir sehr erwägenswert..." One need not have such misgivings if the "Upper Sea" is considered to be the Mediterranean; then the narrative follows a natural sequence of events and the districts in question would lie at the northwestern extremity of Nairu towards Asia Minor. Cf. above p. 21.

iddin married a daughter of his Assyrian contemporary Assur-bel-kala I and so it appears that almost straightway after the death of Tiglath-pileser I, the Aramaeans surged forward once more like water upon the opening of the dikes. The decline of Assyria was rapid and the kings of the following period, of whom we know little more than their names, seem to have been powerless. This is the period, as pointed out above (see pag. 102 ff.), when the Aramaeans were at liberty to develop into greater or smaller states in Mesopotamia.

It is only in the period of Assurdan II (934-912) that Assyria reawakens and is able to gain some temporary success against Kummuh and the Aramaeans. With the coming of Adad-nirari II (911-891) a new era opens up. A powerful and energetic ruler, in his very first year he marched against Qumanu in the north and made Kummuh an Assyrian province once again. After intermittent troubles with Babylon, he not only undertook four campaigns against Nairu in later years, but also moved west to defeat the Akhlâmu; from Hanigalbat he won town after town and concluded a successful siege of Nisibis. His conquests were sure signs of the latent power and gathering strength that Assyria was to put into terms of action and achievement under his successors in the Late Empire.

In retrospect, the history of Mesopotamia in the last third of the second millennium B. C. presents a more kaleidoscopic picture than in preceding periods. New peoples appear and many of the old do not depart. Because of the shifting motion of masses that are not yet formed, and of the lightning-like action of those that are, the picture is often blurred and confused. In the Amarna days the great powers struck polite political poses and so became silhouetted for our study, but now we are witnessing, in the final wars between Egypt and the Hittites, the last working out of the events to which such attitudinizing was a prelude. In northern Mesopotamia, the outlines of a great state have vanished and the country resembles a patchwork of many colors. Although it is true that, with the invasions of the Sutû and Akhlâmu, it slowly and surely assumed an Aramaean shading, still it was checkered, especially in the north, with centers of Hurrians, Hittites, Subarians and other mountain folk, while in the course of time, the Mushqi clung to its outer fringe. Nor did the oft-repeated and long-sustained inroads of the young and vigorous Assyrian empire succeed in creating a definite pattern there—rather they impeded one from forming spontaneously. The conquering of Hanigalbat, and later the incorporation of Kummuh and other outlying parts into the realm under Tiglath-pileser I, proved to be rather a transitory and artificially imposed design. The true pattern emerged in the form of distinct Aramaean states in the tenth century, but here again we are left groping, for there is little to tell us of their inner life. Almost all we have in written form are the records of the destroyer from without. Historians of ancient southwestern Asia generally interpret its international politics in the light of a general striving to reach the Mediterranean and so to control the riches of shore and sea. While this is undoubtedly true in many cases, as in that of Assyria, so that much of its history becomes military history, still in the case of Upper Mesopotamia we should like to know more of its own life. We look forward to the day when further excavations at Tell Halaf⁽¹⁾ and Harran in the valleys of the Balikh and Khabur will give us more first-hand knowledge of *das Aramäertum*.

(1) Some glimpses of everyday life in Tell Halaf in the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. may be snatched from E. Weidner's "Der kulturhistorische Ertrag der Keilschrifturkunden vom Tell Halaf", *AfO*, Beiheft 6 (1940), pp. 1-47.

C) Cultural Aspects of the Aramaeo-Assyrian Period.

As the story of Naharaim has unfolded, many factors which contribute to our understanding of it have had to be omitted. Though often accidental, they always lend greater meaning to the essential. It will not be irrelevant, therefore, to say a word at this point on various features of its cultural life, speaking in a broad sense of commerce, art, religion, etc. From the annals of the Assyrian conquerors, we know that the wooded heights of Lebanon and Amanus and the rich mines of silver, magnesium and iron from Asia Minor were, as in the days of Naram-Sin, still prizes worth risking an army for. Iron in particular had been adopted for general use in warfare by the eleventh century and, paradoxically, one might say that the Assyrians waged war to get it, for they could not wage successful war and win an empire without it. It provided them with chariots, siege instruments, and small weapons (Fig. 32). In this connection it is important to note from their records what an advanced stage of material technique and organizational skill in military science they had reached. No natural barrier appears impassable, no man-made fortress impregnable, no hostile tactic successful (¹). These same records also tell us of the varied flora and fauna of the conquered regions. Cedar, boxwood and rare trees are transplanted and flourish in the gardens of Assyria (²). From the hunting expeditions of Tiglath-pileser I we know that the elephant still roamed near Harran and the lion along the Khabur, wild bulls in the Mitanni country and "herds of deer, stag, ibex, and wild goats... in the midst of the lofty hills" (³). Apart from the usual domesticated animals, special mention should be made here of the camel. We must conclude that it was not domesticated to the point of having large-scale influence on nomadism until the eleventh century, since it first appears in documentary sources at that time (Fig. 33) (⁴). Hence rapid expansion of the Aramaeans, which depended on the camel (Fig. 34), could hardly have taken place before the twelfth century. Slower expansion by means of ass-packs, however, had already begun centuries before, a thing readily possible; we know water was carried across the desert in the days of the Mari Kingdom (cf. pp. 22, 25).

If we turn now to consider the linguistic aspect of Mesopotamian culture at this time we are impressed at once by the way that Accadian has won undisputed rank both as a *Welt-* and *Kultursprache*, to judge from political correspondence and literary composition. Remembering, too, for example, the strangely hybrid Accadian that scribes could produce in the Amarna age, we are more than likely correct in presuming that various types of "pidgin" Accadian still prevailed in many quarters. In the extreme west, the first strivings towards alphabetic writing had begun most probably before the eighteenth century B. C., as shown by the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions (⁵); a combination of alphabet and the all-pervading cuneiform syllabary within the scribal

(¹) Cf. H. Waschow's little study on siege warfare, *4000 Jahre Kampf um die Mauer*, Bottrop (1938), where the Assyrian material is considered as part of the historical development of this science.

(²) Luckenbill, *ARA B*, II, p. 87.

(³) *Ibid.*

(⁴) For a discussion of this topic and the consequent difference between the nomad and semi-nomad, cf. W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, Baltimore (1942), pp. 96 ff., p. 132.

(⁵) J. W. Flight, "History of Writing in the Near East", pp. 115 ff. in *The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible*, New Haven (1938); A. Bea, "Die Entstehung des Alphabets", *Miscellanea Giovanni*

schools about the fifteenth century resulted in the newly discovered cuneiform alphabetic script of Ras Shamra. But what other linguistic phenomena were produced by this meeting of the east and the west? We are touching here upon the origin and development of the Aramaic language, one of the members of the Northwest-Semitic family of tongues. Traces of this family are found back in the first half of the third millennium B. C. as early Egyptian transcriptions show, but the bulk of the inscriptions, not to speak of biblical and later extra-biblical literature, which present Aramaic as a distinctly evolved tongue, hardly antedate the year 900 B. C. (1). Can we, within these two limits, fix the approximate time when the tongue of our Akhlâmu peoples first offered specific differentiation?

The nomadic Akhlâmu who began to settle in Syria and Mesopotamia about the twelfth century B. C. may also have acquired both the name *Aram* and the Aramaic dialect from their precursors. Without going into further details, we can safely say that the Aramaean language sprang from a West-Semitic dialect spoken in northwestern Mesopotamia in the early second millennium B. C., a dialect which seems to have left clear traces in the Mari documents. The Hebrew Patriarchs presumably spoke this dialect before their settlement in Palestine... (2).

From previous observations (see pp. 23 ff.) the close similarity between the dialects of Northwest-Semitic in the Ras Shamra period is quite apparent; in the course of our Aramaeo-Assyrian period (14th-10th centuries), however, the separation of Aramaic from the Canaanite dialects became ever sharper. Its affinity rather to Amorite may be reflected in the fact that its plural termination developed in *nûn* e. g. פָלָנִין and that long *â* under the accent did not shift to *ô* as in Hebrew but remained *â*. Such Aramaic peculiarities as the post-positive article and the use of the preposition to indicate a direct object are later phenomena. Regarding other languages at this time the mention of the Hurrians, Hittites, Mushqi, Elamites and others makes one aware of how complex the situation was, at least on the periphery of the greater Aramaized area.

In the field of glyptic art, we do not find anything so advanced as to be typical of a developed Aramaic culture. The times were too turbulent for that. Considering cylinder seals, however, in the Middle Assyrian Empire, the history of the day is mirrored in the fact that the Assyrians

Mercati, Vol. VI, Città del Vaticano (cf. above p. 14). Cf. further M. Dunand, *Byblia Grammata. Documents et recherches sur le développement de l'écriture en Phénicie*, Beyrouth (1945) for two new inscriptions from Byblos (to be dated most probably from the ninth century B. C.; cf. Albright, *JAOS*, 67 [1947], p. 154).

(1) Cf. Franz Rosenthal, *Die aramaistische Forschung seit Th. Nöldeke's Veröffentlichungen*, Leiden (1939). This is a work of careful and detailed research into most of the fields of Aramaic linguistic studies by a competent and diligent scholar. His conclusion (p. 71) regarding Official Aramaic (*das Reichsaramäische*) is that since the time of Nöldeke, the most significant, perhaps the only real progress in Aramaic linguistic research is the knowledge of the essential unity of the oldest Aramaic material still preserved to us. He admits, of course, that before the time of this material, i. e. before the ninth century B. C., it is very probable that there were strong dialectal differences in the spoken language and that one of these dialects was chosen as the official tongue, thus becoming the only one known to us. For sharp restrictions of this position, however, see H. L. Ginsberg's otherwise appreciative review in *JAOS*, 62 (1942), pp. 229-238.

(2) W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 182. Cf. F. Rosenthal also, *op. cit.* pp. 14-23, for observations, of a negative character mostly, about the development of Aramaic before the eighth century.

at first inherited the designs of the Mitanni kingdom, such as griffins, sacred trees and symmetrical groups (Fig. 35) (1). Neither could they wholly escape Cassite influence, as clearly traceable in the figures of dogs, the Cassite or Maltese cross, and prayers to Marduk. Soon, however, in keeping with their vigorous new life, they developed their own themes about older motifs, especially in the portrayal of monsters, combat scenes, and above all in the rich exploitation of the winged solar disk, borrowed, no doubt, from Egypt through Mitanni. H. Frankfort, not without great plausibility, brings out how this is used to represent the protection of the king by the god Assur (Fig. 36) (2). Off to the west in northern Syria considerable artistic impoverishment had followed in the wake of Hittite domination, since the Hittites brought along with them little in the way of native inspiration and hence of actual creation. Mycenean influence in art is meagre, while Egyptian themes do not penetrate beyond Palestine (3). Older Mesopotamian models are followed, such as bull-men and hunters, but the whole period from 1350 to 1000 B. C., apart from the refreshing innovations of Assyria (4), must be marked as one of serious decline in glyptic art.

The recognition that Hittite intrusion into northern Syria made little or no contribution to its advance in art has as a corollary the further admission that much of the so-called "Hittite" art of the late second millennium is not Hittite at all but of other more local provenience. As mentioned above (p. 35) the later "Hittites" were a mixture of many ethnic elements, carrying on the Hittite tradition, so that down even to the days of Sennacherib (705-681) this land was called *mât Hatti*. This usage of the ancients together with the fact that Hittite hieroglyphs were found inscribed at Carchemish, Hamath, Aleppo, etc., dating after 1200 B. C. (5), helped to confirm the error in the minds of moderns, that northern Syria owed its figures of demons and lions to Hittite models. Rather A. Goetze (6) has shown that the monumental art of Boghaz

(1) S. Smith, *EHA*, pp. 327-332.

(2) H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals*, pp. 208-215; A. Moortgat, "Assyrische Glyptik des 13. Jahrhunderts", *ZA*, 47 (1942), pp. 50-88, especially pp. 84-87, where the author studies five seals showing influence of an earlier period about 1500 B. C. A second contribution by the same author which was not available to us is "Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jahrhunderts", *ibid.* 48, pp. 23-44. Consult also his *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel*, Berlin (1940), which treats of "Assyrien und seine Auseinandersetzung mit Churri-Mitanni", pp. 60. ff. and "Letztes Viertel des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.", pp. 64 ff.

E. Douglas Van Buren in *The Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art*, Rome (1945), pp. 87-104, gives a complete description and documentation of the solar disk motif, especially winged (pp. 94 ff.), in Assyria from the middle of the second millennium down to late Assyrian times, discussing its possible origin in connection with the figure of Imdugud.

(3) H. Frankfort, *ibid.*, pp. 288-291.

(4) A. Moortgat (*ZA*, 47, 1942, p. 87 f.), while characterizing the evolution of Assyrian glyptic art in the period 1500-1000 as one of great variation, points to its rich portrayal of demons, wild beasts and sacred plants in the thirteenth century as a renaissance of the art of the Accad period.

(5) An extraordinarily rich collection of diverse monuments, many of them bearing Hittite hieroglyphs, and representing processional figures, lions, hybrid animals, masks, pillar capitals, etc. has been collected for the period extending from 1200 B. C. into the first half of the first millennium by H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Berlin (1942), plates 180 to 254. Cf. also H. Th. Bossert and Halet Çambel, *Karatepe. A Preliminary Report on a New Hittite Site*, 15 pp., 16 pls., 14 figs. (1946); H. Th. Bossert and U. Bahadir Alkim, *Karatepe. Kadirli and its Environments* (2nd prelim. report), 32 pp., 45 pls., 224 figs., Istanbul (1947).

(6) A. Goetze, *HCA*, pp. 74-78. To be consulted in this connection are K. Bittel, R. Naumann, H. Otto, *Yazılıkaya. Architektur, Felsbilder, Inschriften und Kleinfunde*, Leipzig (1941), plates 10 to 31 where representations, especially religious, on the rock walls of the most important Hittite sanctuary, Yazılıkaya

köy (Fig. 37) was an incipient advance upon North-Syrian models which, unfortunately, the invasion of the Sea Peoples would not permit to come to fruitful term. This brings us then to the problem of native North-Syrian sculpture and the Tell Halâfian orthostates, a problem which is best solved by fixing our attention on the latter.

When the first popular presentation of the Tell Halâf excavations was made, the excavator (¹) placed these orthostates back in the third millennium, agreeing substantially with the opinion of Ernst Herzfeld, who in the same publication (pp. 225-33) fixed their date from 3000 to 2400 B. C., as a result of his "stilkritische Untersuchung". Three years later, in 1934, Herzfeld defended his stand against such an array of scholars that their names and number alone should lead one to suspect how erroneous was his treatment of these orthostates (²). His case however, was from the first accepted and defended by A. Ugnad (³), who classified them in the Jemdet Nasr period. Others, on the other hand, placed the orthostates as late as the early first millennium B. C. (⁴). Fundamental for one's approach to the entire problem is that our data should be considered in their whole genetic context, and, since the stratigraphical situation at Tell Halâf, and elsewhere as well, is in need of still greater clarification, our logical recourse is "nach Synchronismen mit Fundstücken und anderen Grabungsstätten zu suchen, die ihrerseits chronologisch einigermaßen bestimmt werden können" (⁵). Working on this very same principle, A. Goetze, by comparative discussion of a hunting demon from Assur, of the cylinder seal of Saushsatar, king of Mitanni, and of seal impressions from Nuzu, concludes to a direct influence from Sumerian monuments and places the orthostates about the middle of the second millennium B. C. (⁶). For our part, this same sound principle can find a wider application and, as a result, fix the date approximately in the tenth century B. C. Space does not permit an extended comment on our negative reaction to opinions thus far proposed; it will be in any case sufficient to make a brief positive statement of our preference for the lower date.

It is known that these orthostates were found at Tell Halâf in the so-called Kapara level, and that they bore inscriptions in cuneiform of the prince himself. These inscriptions were first dated as of the twelfth century B. C. (⁷) but the following considerations argue for a tenth-century date of the stone reliefs themselves and hence of the Kapara state and the inscriptions also. First of all, the small finds of the Tell Halâfian site cannot come between the painted pottery level and the tenth century B. C., and they certainly do not belong to the former. This is borne out into detail in the case of burial customs, ceramics, metals, stone and bone objects which tally very

at Boghazköy, range from the fifteenth to the middle of the thirteenth century B. C. Attention may be called at this point also to the work of W. Andrae, *Alte Feststrassen im Nahen Osten*, 56 pages, 11 plates, Leipzig (1941). It gives a description and interpretation of the processional routes followed in religious ceremonies as known to us in four cases from the ancient Orient. The oldest is that leading from Khat-tusas (Boghazköy) to Yazilikaya; the other three are located at Assur, Babylon and Uruk.

(¹) Max Baron von Oppenheim, *TH*, p. 39, 231.

(²) E. Herzfeld, "Der Tell Halaf und das Problem der hettitischen Kunst", *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, VI (1934), pp. 111-223.

(³) *Subartu*, pp. 183 ff.; also "Tierkapellen", Oppenheim Festschrift, *AfO* (1933), Beiband 1, pp. 134-137.

(⁴) F. von Bissing, *AfO*, 6 (1931) pp. 159-201; V. Christian, *AfO*, 9 (1933) pp. 1-34.

(⁵) A. Goetze, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

(⁶) *Ibid.*, pp. 89-95.

(⁷) B. Meissner, *TH*, p. 266.

well with the Amouq phase O in northern Syria⁽¹⁾. *Second*, these orthostates undeniably fit into a North-Syrian context, for they show a genetic relationship to the orthostates from Carchemish (Fig. 38) and Zendjirli (Fig. 39) which date between the twelfth and the ninth centuries B. C.⁽²⁾. *Third*, if we compare the Plates III, IV and V of E. Herzfeld's work (e. g., Fig. 40), we shall find that there is an amazing correspondence between these figures and small ivories from the palace of Assur-nâşir-apli (881-859) at Nimrûd (Calah). The points of resemblance are most striking in details of head-dress and coiffure, and R. D. Barnett⁽³⁾ treats these ivories (Fig. 41, 42) as representative of what he calls the "Syrian Style" dating back to the tenth century. Other points of contact with Assyria are of the ninth century. *Fourth*, the Aramaic inscription discovered on an altar at Tell Halâf is presumably not to be dated in the twelfth century. R. Bowman, basing his judgment on the script, particularly of the *Kaph* and the *Heth*, as compared with the Moabite stone, settles upon a date in the late ninth or early eighth century B. C.⁽⁴⁾. Since no photograph of the inscription has been made available, and since on the other hand the studies of J. Friedrich and R. Bowman are based on copies of the original, it is more prudent to withhold judgment for the moment and consider the late tenth century as a probable date. *Fifth* and last, in the light of our foregoing portrayal of the rising and falling fortunes of the Assyrian conquerors, the only reasonable occasion offered for the flowering of a more or less native Aramaean culture in Upper Mesopotamia was the interval between the Middle and Late empires, that is, the tenth and early ninth centuries B. C., neither before nor after. This appears all the more certain when we realize that Gôzân was still the capital of this Aramaean state of Bit-Bahiâni when the Assyrians occupied it in the early ninth century. Even to admit the possibility of dating these orthostates well on in the ninth century, as E. Unger does (see p. 103, n. 4), is to ignore completely the thoroughly Assyrian style of art already found in the figure of the Kilamuwa stele, which came from Zendjirli, much farther west than Gôzân, and dated from c. 830 B. C. Of the arguments here advanced, perhaps the strongest is the first, based on typology and stratigraphy; all five present a cumulative force which is irrefutable.

These orthostates were placed by Kapara at the base of palace walls to serve as protection against fire and water (Fig. 43). Their decorative function also was obvious, since they offered a continuous smooth surface, each panel of which bore a wide variety of single representations, often of single figures. Fabulous hybrid creatures, the winged sun-disk and demons, riding and battle scenes, gods and kings people the world of their makers (Figs. 45 to 47). Artistic exe-

⁽¹⁾ Cf. the lengthy quotation of J. S. Braidwood in Raymond Bowman's article, "The Old Aramaic Alphabet at Tell Halaf", *AJS* (1941), pp. 364-66.

⁽²⁾ Compare, for example, the numerous reproductions of the orthostates in *Der Tell Halaf (passim)* or in A. Goetze, *HCA*, plates 30-47, with the stone reliefs from Cerablus (*ibid.*, pls. 37 and 38) and Sendjirli (*ibid.*, pl. 48) together with other instructive comparisons in A. Moortgat's *Bildwerk und Volkstum Vorderasiens zur Hethiterzeit*, Leipzig (1934), plates 24-37. See also H. Schaefer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, pp. 586, 596.

⁽³⁾ R. D. Barnett, "The Nimrud Ivories and the Art of the Phoenicians", *Iraq*, II (1935), pp. 179-210, esp. p. 192, and pl. XXV, 2; pl. XXVII, 2 and 4; also Schaefer and Andrae, *op. cit.*, pp. 600-601.

⁽⁴⁾ The earlier date was of J. Friedrich, "Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf", *AjO* (1940), Beiheft 6, pp. 69-70 and plate 29. Both Friedrich and Bowman secured different readings but neither, unfortunately, a satisfactory translation of the inscription. W. F. Albright dates the inscription (oral information) in the ninth century.

cution is far from consummate, for the figures exhibit a grotesque and crude plumpness, which is found at Zendjirli and Malatiya as well. Striking is the hair curled on the neck or shoulders, a feature imitated in the curious rolls which terminate clothing and dagger sheath. The libation scene represented in a relief from Malatiya (Fig. 44) is very pertinent in the present case⁽¹⁾. All in all, we cannot escape the conclusion that the orthostates we have discussed are the products of a rather primitive and provincial Aramaean culture, based on earlier Syro-Mesopotamian models. This culture first found self-expression in Carchemish and Zendjirli after the twelfth century and then, as the Assyrian peril receded, spread eastward to fuller realization in Kapara's realm of the tenth. That it did not ripen to maturity is due to the Assyrian kings of the late ninth and following centuries, but perhaps their Late Empire has paid us compensation enough in its rich and wholly successful exploitation of the orthostate idea in heroic mural relief.

In the field of architecture, the most distinctive feature of North Mesopotamia at this time is the *hillani* (*hitlani*) house, a name given by the Assyrians to this western design, which was found both at Tell Halaf (Fig. 48) and Zendjirli⁽²⁾. Perhaps it can be best characterized as a complex of rooms⁽³⁾, whether in temple or palace, in which the central one is entered at one end of its length, so that a quarter turn is necessary upon entry to command full view of the interior. This entrance is divided by three pillars⁽⁴⁾ — sometimes worked in the manner of gods standing on animals⁽⁵⁾ — and is often approached through a vestibule. In the course of the first millennium it found considerable adaptation in Assyria. In general, however, "our knowledge of Mesopotamian religious architecture in the second millennium is relatively slight"⁽⁶⁾; the Cassite temple of Karaindash about 1415 B. C. was a radical departure in its simplicity from the older temple complex of Babylon (Fig. 49), while the Assyrian plan with greater stress on the central long room, was still less pretentious⁽⁷⁾.

⁽¹⁾ Ekrem Akurgal in *Remarques stylistiques sur les reliefs de Malatya*, Istanbul (1946), 114 pages, 35 figures, has dated it (*ibid.*, p. 115; for the relief cf. *ibid.*, p. 43, Fig. 20) between 1050 and 900. Because Akurgal has based his meritorious study principally on artistic criteria to the neglect of the achieved linguistic results in the field of Hittite hieroglyphs, he has been taken somewhat severely to task by H. Th. Bossert in "Zur Chronologie der Skulpturen von Malatiya", *Felsefe Arkivi*, II (1947), pp. 87-101, 27 illustrations. In nos. 16 and 17 of the latter, one of the results of linguistic studies is the establishment of the chronology of the kings of Malatiya. On the basis of paleography, Bossert assigns our libation scene and another similar to it (both fully shown in illustrations 8 and 10) to the time of a certain Sulumal about 875 B. C. (*ibid.*, p. 99). Naturally, it is always desirable to have the most precise dating possible; in any case, the dating of these reliefs is well in harmony with our own conclusions. See further H. Th. Bossert, *Altanatolien*, Berlin (1942), plates 181-190 for reliefs, some of which are inscribed, from Malatiya; H. G. Güterbock, *Guide to the Hittite Museum in the Bedesten at Ankara*, Istanbul (1946), 80 pages, 25 illustrations; F. von Luschan u. W. Andrae, *Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli*, Berlin (1943), de Gruyter.

⁽²⁾ For illustrations of the ones at Zendjirli, see Schaefer and Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 167, with a reconstruction on p. 598.

⁽³⁾ We are of the opinion, therefore, that the *bît hilâni* is a house and not merely a façade, as Herman Weidhaas has maintained in a lengthy article, "Der *bît hilâni*" *Z.A.*, 45 (1939), pp. 108-168, especially pp. 130 ff. Weidhaas' position has been strongly opposed by B. Meissner in "Das *bît hilâni* in Assyrien", *Orientalia*, 11 (1942), pp. 251-261, where full references to the latest literature will be found.

⁽⁴⁾ B. Meissner (*op. cit.*, p. 253 f.) calls attention to sources which indicate indirectly that some of these houses were built with two pillars only.

⁽⁵⁾ A. Goetze, *HCA*, pls. 23 and 76.

⁽⁶⁾ W. F. Albright, *ARI*, p. 48.

⁽⁷⁾ A. Moortgat, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-5; A. L. Oppenheim, "The Mesopotamian Temple", *The Biblical Ar-*

The fierceness displayed by the Assyrian kings in their military campaigns during this period — and even more so in the first millennium B. C. — seems less surprising though not less terrible when we realize how harsh was the tenor of life in Assur itself as reflected in the Assyrian laws (1450-1250 B. C.) (1). Here the *lex talionis* was executed with a vengeance, for often threefold restitution for damages was exacted, and bodily mutilation of the offender went to horrible extremes. Trial by ordeal was practised at times and levirate marriage was in evidence although the position of woman in society was in general very low. The Assyrian code was certainly not so important as that of Hammurabi and, from a humane point of view, could hardly stand comparison with the Hittite laws.

To gain greater knowledge of the religious world of the Aramaeo-Assyrian period one must turn from temples to the Assyrian cylinder seals and inscriptions, in both of which we have already seen how the cult of Assur as protective genius of the king predominated. *Ina tukulti Aššur bēlia...* “In the might of Assur, my lord...” became a preface of which the Assyrian kings never tired, although Shamash, Adad and a host of other gods were not neglected. Furthermore, time and again the temples of Ishtar were repaired and new ones constructed while the king usually bore the title “priest of Assur”. In this respect the Assyrian king was distinguished from the Babylonian king. In an Assyrian coronation ritual (2) it is the king who forms the center of the whole sacred ceremonial, while the priest is relegated to a secondary position. In contrast to the Babylonian New Year festival, for example, the Assyrian king no sooner enters the sacred temple precincts than he appears directly before the *sancta sanctorum*; it is the king who bears the divine symbols and who performs the sacrifice, nor does the function of coronation oblige him to assume any humiliating posture before the god. However, at the time of this text, the cult of Marduk, whose statue Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206) had brought from Babylon, already enjoyed great vogue in Assyria. This is partly indicated by theophorous names in Assyria containing the element *Marduk* (3). After 1200 in Assyria and Babylonia, a type of wisdom literature also sprang up, deriving from older models. Farther west we can only guess at the religious significance behind the grotesque representations of gods and demons at Kapara and Carchemish. Added to their previous religious heritage, which was already syncretistic to the *n*th degree, a veritable fusion and confusion of Hittite, Hurrian, Amorite and Indo-

chaeologist, VII (1944), pp. 54-63. For an attempt to interpret religious thought as seen in the architecture of the middle and late Assyrian period in contrast to that of Tell Halaf and northern Syria, see W. Andrae, “Kultbau im alten Orient”, *Mélanges Dussaud*, II, pp. 867-871; the article however, is to be used with great reserve. See, however, W. Andrae, *Vorderasien* (in the *Handbuch der Archäologie*, München, 1939, edited by W. Otto) I. Textband, pp. 702-714.

(1) G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws*, Oxford (1935), p. 12. The fact that E. Weidner has shown in “Das Alter der mittelassyrischen Gesetzestexte”, *AjO*, 12 (1937-39), pp. 48 ff. from the occurrence of an eponym name *Isa-g(i)-u* that Tablet A of the laws was written during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I, about 1100 B. C., and from other evidence that Tablets C and G belong to the same period, does not mean, as Weidner himself points out, that the legislation they contain is not of earlier origin. It was apparently in Tiglath-pileser's time that systematic compilation of these laws was effected, based on earlier models.

(2) Cf. Karl Fr. Müller, “Das assyrische Ritual”, *MVA eG*, 41, 3 (1936-37) pp. 53-58. The author (p. 5) dates the text in the years 1220-1150.

(3) Cf. E. Weidner, “Studien zur Geschichte Tukulti-Ninurtas I”, *AjO*, 13 (1939-41); p. 120 f.; Karl Fr. Müller, *loc. cit.* p. 6.

Aryan pantheons, the Mesopotamian mind might seem to have lived, religiously speaking, in a nightmare. Such a judgment may be too severe, however, for it is a static, academic view of things *in globo* — more probably, in actual dynamic and unreflecting life, one or another deity, or one or another attribute of the same deity would have loomed large according to the need or circumstance of the respective client, without there being in the latter's mind any sense of contradiction or even of incoherence. What we can say with calm assurance, at any rate, is that this extremely pell-mell religious setting, filling the whole background of the second millennium B. C. and later, offers the perfect refutation to the claim of Wellhausen that Israel appeared upon the stage of history in spiritual isolation and, gifted with extraordinary intellectual and moral qualities, evolved in a sustained soliloquy, as it were, its pure and high-principled monotheism. But Israel was not so gifted an actor —

“Let us limit ourselves to remarking that Israel was not richly endowed by the Muses: it never felt an imperious artistic vocation, the field of its imagination was quite narrow, and above all its taste was quite undeveloped. Scientific interests appear not only to have been foreign to Israel but even to have been an object of its suspicion”⁽¹⁾.

Israel then, poor in natural gifts on the one hand; its environment, rich in varied cultures and incredibly polytheistic on the other — how can historians still adhere to a merely natural explanation of Hebrew monotheism and prophetism? It is an admirable example of reason baffled by its own problem, for the issues involved stand free of all essential dependence on economico-geographical or sociological systems of determinism. And yet, the historian sees the problem; it is his as well as the theologian's.

The course of our study thus far has pursued a theme that proved to be diversified and highly complex. At almost every turn particular difficulties have arisen, of early chronology, of Sumero-Accadian culture, of Amorite power, Hittite aggression and so on. We can not claim to have done full justice to them, no more than we can pretend to have given an adequate answer to the Hurrian-Subarian problem, or to have clarified sufficiently well our knowledge of the Hurrian and Indo-Aryan symbiosis. Yet all these phases of Mesopotamian history, together with the political adventures of the middle second millennium B. C. and the Aramaeo-Assyrian period after it, have been viewed in the light of the fresh new material that recent archaeological and philological research have brought to the aid of our learning. In this sense many new points of contact between peoples and institutions in the ancient Near East have been noted, whether by way of likeness or of difference. In the latter case, a moment's reflection is enough to see that Israel most challenges our attention, and, as we look more closely, there is renewed and more direct contact between Israel and the Land of the Two Rivers.

(1) P. Humbert, “Le Génie d'Israel”, quoted by J. Coppens, *The Old Testament and the Critics*, Paterson (1942), p. 70.

CHAPTER VI.

ISRAEL AND ARAM

A) Before David.

The first contacts resumed between Israel and Aram after the Patriarchal Age as recorded for us by Hebrew tradition took place not too long before the entry of the Chosen People into the Promised Land. Whether we wish to look upon this event as taking place in the fourteenth century B. C., since excavations at Jericho give evidence of a violent destruction of the city before 1300 B. C., or whether we prefer to assign it to a later date in the thirteenth century, since most recent surface explorations in the Transjordan area give reasonable assurance that the kingdoms of Edom, Moab and Ammon could hardly have been founded before the thirteenth century⁽¹⁾, there is nothing in the preceding history of Mesopotamia to discredit the Balaam episode⁽²⁾. As the Israelites stood over against Jericho, about to cross the Jordan, so the biblical narrative tells us, Balak, king of Moab, summoned Balaam, a soothsayer from Pethor in Mesopotamia⁽³⁾ to call down a curse upon them, lest they grow too mighty for him. In place of a curse, however, and against his own will, Balaam called down a fourfold blessing upon Israel and returned to his own country, only to be slain later fighting with the Midianites against the children of Israel (Num. 31:8,16). To quote a recent statement, "... the content and style of the

(1) N. Glueck, *The Other Side of the Jordan* (1940), pp. 114-157. Because of these and other data we need not treat in detail here, the story of the Exodus has become, more than ever before, one of the most vexing historico-biblical problems that confront us today. The attempt of J. de Koning in *Studien over de El-Amarna-brieven en het Oude-Testament inzonderheid uit historisch oogpunt*, Amsterdam (1940), pp. 15-115; 278-430 ff., to show how the invasion of the Israelite tribes into Palestine coincided with the period of the Amarna letters, and that in the latter actual mention of the destruction of Jericho, and of the conquest of Judah is found, is open to serious historical and chronological difficulties; cf. A. Alt, *AfO*, 14 (1941-42), pp. 349-352.

(2) Num. 23 and 24. With regard to the text of these Balaam poems, it is important to give careful consideration to the latest study by W. F. Albright, "The Oracles of Balaam", *JBL*, LXIII (1944), pp. 207-233. This article shows, by an inductive approach based on variant texts and versions, and especially on comparison with our now vastly richer field of Northwest-Semitic epigraphy, that the consonantal text is much older than hitherto supposed. Especially the pericope Num. 24:23-24, as recaptured in this way, yields a translation which harmonizes amazingly well with newly published Egyptian material of the early twelfth century B. C. We look forward to the publication of the historical implications of this study, which the author has promised.

(3) A number of commentators have thought that Balaam was from Ammon since some Hebrew manuscripts read בָּאָמֹן "Ammon" for בָּאָה "his people", in Num. 22:5. This is not found elsewhere; rather in Deut. 23:5 we are told explicitly: שָׁבֵר בְּלִבְנֵם בְּנֵי-בָּאָמֹן סִפְתּוֹר אֶתְם נְהִירִים

poems are homogeneous and point to the period between the middle of the thirteenth century and the end of the twelfth as the time of composition" (1) — we should not be much surprised if this margin were yet to prove, from the viewpoint of content and style alone, a *terminus ad quem*. Were one to trace here the influence of Babylonian divination, practised since the early third millennium and spread in the succeeding generations throughout Mesopotamia (2), there would be no difficulty in recognizing Balaam as a real diviner from the Euphrates country. Long before him divination had been practised by means of dreams, birth-omens, hepatoscopy, etc. From the library of Assurbanapal we have many published copies of liver texts, none of which antedate the First Dynasty of Babylon, but the formulae they contain are already stereotyped! Farther west in Mari, many liver tablets from about the nineteenth century were found (3), and, although prognostication of future events rested on the fallacious principle *post hoc ergo propter hoc* in observation, so mandatory was the urge of man then, as now and ever, to pierce the veil of the unknown, that our early clairvoyants must have never failed for clients. Balaam, therefore, as a seer from northeastern Syria, may be very aptly compared to the Mesopotamian *bārū*, especially since a detailed study (4) has shown how closely matters like ceremonial preparations and actions (Num. 23:1,2), and the presence of the beneficiary (*ibid.*, vv. 3,15), can be matched in Babylonian rituals while the word 𠁻, for example, meaning to rule (5) in 24:17, has an astrological background as we know from cuneiform parallels.

Thus this single episode of Balaam, without dwelling here on its significance in a Messianic sense, gains for us a most precious insight into the religious character of Upper Mesopotamia in the latter half of the second millennium B.C. But did Balaam really come from Mesopotamia? It has been suggested that he may be more readily connected with Edom, doubtless because of the old attempt to identify him with Bela, son of Beor, king of Edom (6), and possibly because of a scribal confusion between *Rēsh* and *Daleth*, (𠁻 for 𠁻) in the transmission of documents, a thing which could easily have happened in the case of square Aramaic characters, and just as easily in the earlier Canaanite script. However, apart from explicit Hebrew tradition (see p. 119, n. 3), there are two strong arguments against this view: first, that this Bela of Edom must be dated in the mid-twelfth century B.C., long after Balaam (7); second, in Num. 23:7 "From Aram hath Balak brought me, Moab's king from the Eastern Mountains", it is difficult to reconcile the latter half of the verse with Edom, which is usually known as the south. In any event it has been established for some time now that the land of Qedem (v. 7) is situated inland, not east of southern Palestine but rather east of Byblos (8), and so R. Kittel's supposition that "Pethor am Eufrat... ist wohl von E aus Aram herausgesponnen", appears entirely gratuitous; equally

(1) Albright, *ibid.*, p. 226.

(2) B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, pp. 242-282.

(3) E. g., M. Rutten, "Trente-deux modèles de foies en argile inscrits provenant de Tell-Hariri (Mari)", *RA*, 35 (1938), pp. 36-70; J. Nougayrol, "Textes hépatoscopiques d'époque ancienne conservés au Musée du Louvre", *RA*, 38 (1941), pp. 67-88; *ibid.*, 40, pp. 56-97. The latter work deals with liver-omens dating from the First Dynasty of Babylon.

(4) S. Daiches, "Balaam—a Babylonian *bārū*", *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig (1909), pp. 60-70.

(5) Albright, *ibid.*, p. 219, n. 82.

(6) Gen. 36:32; note that the Greek reads *Balāz*, *vīōς Beōq*, a strange confusion.

(7) Albright, *ibid.*, p. 231, n. 139.

(8) Albright, *ibid.*, p. 211, n. 15; R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Gotha (1921) I, p. 392, n. 1.

mprobable is Dérenbourg's comparison of Balaam with Luqmân, the sage of the Koran (Arab. *lqm* = Hebr. *bl'*)⁽¹⁾. There is no reason, therefore, for not accepting the full historical character of the Balaam passages which, we may be sure, represent part of the rich Hebrew patrimony handed on orally for long years before being first committed to writing.

As the cycle of Israelite history moved forward, Jericho fell and gradual conquest of the land of Canaan proceeded under the vigorous and astute leadership of Joshua. After defeating the coalition of five Canaanite kings in Aijalon, he took many strong fortresses towards the south, while central Palestine does not seem to have constituted a core of resistance — the Amarna letters, too, are singularly wanting in light upon this region⁽²⁾. At any rate, it is certain from the Marniptah stele, wherein we read that "the people Israel is desolate...", that Israel was already in Palestine by about 1230 B. C. Israelite occupation there was much more intensive than that of the Canaanites before them, but archaeology bears out in the case of dwellings and artifacts how inferior was their material culture in contrast to that of their predecessors. Canaanite religion, too, with its gross fertility cult and forceful appeal to the senses in local sanctuary and symbol, proved most seductive to a people guided by austere rules of conduct and worshipping a God not represented by any graven image. As the various tribes settled in their respective places, the sense of sharp distinction from the Canaanite pagans about them, and hence absolute proscription of native idolatrous practices, were gradually lost. Local interests, too, accelerated the centrifugal forces that tended to weaken and disrupt their unity, which was, in fact, no more than that of a loosely knit tribal federation. That is why, as they forsook their God and served "Baal and Astaroth" (Jdgs. 2:13 ff.), He gave them over to be oppressed and enslaved by all and sundry about them. And so, as we are ushered into the period of the Judges, which filled out roundly the twelfth and eleventh centuries B. C. (3), a perfect picture of anarchy results, for although the neighboring peoples of Edom, Moab and Ammon had kings, still "there was no king in Israel and each one did as he pleased". Such social unrest and political strife are mirrored in the different narratives of the Bible, testimony which is strikingly corroborated by archaeological evidence at Beth-Shan, Tell Beit Mirsim, Shiloh, and the signs of four distinct destructions by fire at Bethel before David's time. Although God raised up the "Judges" to deliver the Israelites successively and successfully from their oppressors, Israel had nevertheless entered upon a downward path. *Facilis descensus Averno...* as events turned out, her apostasies became more frequent, the incursions of the enemy more fierce, and the intervals of restored peace more brief and disturbed from within.

(1) R. Kittel, *ibid.*, p. 500, n. 3.

(2) In this whole period of the Conquest and the following one of the Judges, problems of geographical, chronological and political or tribal interest abound. Even to enumerate them there is no place here — archaeology will go a long way toward solving them, and probably also turn up at least as many new ones in the process!

(3) There is still much obscurity in trying to establish the chronology of the period of the Judges. Deborah, on internal evidence of the Song, probably flourished about 1100 B. C. With regard to Gideon, since Eduard Meyer showed the war with Midian was practically contemporaneous with Hadad, king of Edom, and since this latter by computation of the royal Edomite line in Gen. 36:39 would bring us back roughly to 1070 B. C., we may also place Gideon at this time. Shiloh fell about 1050 B. C. and Abimelech, since he was born some thirty years after the Midianite invasion, must have shortly preceded Saul, i. e. somewhere near 1035 B. C. Further precision is at present hardly possible; cf. W. F. Albright, *ARI*, p. 206, n. 58.

It is not our place here to analyze in detail what constituted a "Judge". In a word, he might be best characterized by the current phrase, "the man of the hour". In a period of national emergency, the Judges were persons of outstanding military ability or natural wisdom and leadership, who would come forth to be recognized and followed by the people of their own tribe or of a group of tribes in taking up the quarrel with the invader — obviously the names of Gideon, Samson and Jephthah recur to mind here. Although under the circumstances it was natural for them to sit in judgment on private disputes (e. g., Jdgs. 4:5; 1 Sam. 7:16-17), still their most respected function was military leadership, that is, they were judges more in the sense of redressing wrong than of formal adjudication. Attention has been called in the past to the "charismatic" quality of these Judges, who were followed "because there was some special power about them which was believed to represent the direct outpouring of divine grace (*charisma*)" (1). It is undoubtedly true that the word "charismatic" aptly indicates the attitude of the people toward such a leader whereby they looked upon him as a special agent of divine power, but the question as to what the more precise nature of this *charisma* was, that it should cause such an attitude, still confronts us. Perhaps the term can be clarified still more, therefore, by comparing it to the *gratia gratis data* of Christian theology as applied to the early Christian church. The *charismata* which St. Paul enumerates in 1 Cor. 12:28-31, i. e. to be an apostle, prophet, or doctor, to have the gift of miracles, healings, tongues, etc., were evidently divine favors bestowed upon individuals primarily for the common good. They were not the same as, nor did they necessarily connote in the same individual the simultaneous reception of, the *gratia gratum faciens*, which was divine favor rendering the individual soul pleasing to God, and which did not primarily refer to the common good. We do not claim, of course, that the distinction between these two *charismata* or *gratiae* was made by the ancient Hebrews, but it does aid us in understanding the unique character of the Judges as divine legates; Samson, for instance, certainly possessed the first but his manner of life makes one doubt that he always possessed the second, which was among the *χαρισματα μετονομαστα* of St. Paul.

Among those Judges who arose to save the Israelites from their enemies we pause to mention Othniel, who is recorded very briefly as having finally crushed a certain Kushan Rishathaim. This latter is called the king of Aram Naharaim who enslaved the Israelites for eight years (Jdgs. 3:8-10) in the first of the many episodes of this era. There is nothing at all against Othniel from the historical point of view but almost everything about Kushan Rishathaim bristles with difficulty. The name *Rishathaim*, first of all, meaning "double wickedness", is most enigmatic and may represent a futile attempt to reconstruct a word already corrupted in transmission. R. Kittel was attracted by the possibility of reading Edom for Aram (2); Marquart had gone farther to identify Kushan (קְשָׁן) with Chusham (כְּשָׁם), the Edomite king of Gen. 36:34 (a most improbable phonetic change!) and thus *Rishathaim* would be a corruption of **רָשָׁם עֲתָה**: "prince of 'Attahim" (3) — but these are fruitless speculations and cannot be said to have any very strong claims to acceptance. The name Kushan, nevertheless, is referred to in close connection

(1) W. F. Albright, *FSAC*, p. 216, following Max Weber and Albrecht Alt.

(2) R. Kittel, *op. cit.*, II, p. 82, n. 2. In 2 Sam. 8:12-13 and 2 Kgs. 16:6 the LXX read *Daleth* for *Resh* with greater sense for the context. Should it be read thus in 2 Chr. 20:2 also?

(3) Cited in Eduard Meyer's *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle (1906), p. 374.

with Midian in Hab. 3:7, where it apparently is a clan name. Singularly enough, Kushan bears the án termination common to those tribes situated east and southeast of Israel which are related to Abraham through Keturah (Gen. 25:2) such as Zamran, Jacsan, Madan, and Midian, too. All this evidence cannot be denied, but it is far from enough to establish any conclusion. Was this Kushan with his semi-nomadic warfare a forerunner, perhaps, of the terrifying Midianite invasion of Gideon's time (c. 1075)? In that case the word Naharaim would be expunged — if, however, one prefers to look upon Kushan as really coming from Aram Naharaim in the early twelfth century (1), we have already learned that no extra-biblical evidence of an independent imperial power in Syria at that time has yet been found. And yet, since at this time we know that, with the invasion of the Sea-Peoples, the hold of Ramesses III on Syria and Palestine was broken and a period of disorder followed, while at the same time Assyrian pressure from the east on the western Aramaeans was only just relenting after the death of Tukulti-Ninurta I (c. 1206), it is not impossible that a semi-nomadic Syrian like Kushan found a natural outlet by sweeping south upon a disorganized land about the year 1180 B. C. Nor is there any reason why we cannot see in the term *melek* a designation for the most powerful chieftain in a given region, without thinking of a well-organized state. In any case, it is plain how obscure this brief and isolated reference to Aram Naharaim in the period of the Judges is.

B) The South Syrian States.

Many years elapse before the fortunes of Israel and Aram meet again in a way that merited recording in the memory of the Hebrew writers. Not until the time of the United Monarchy was this verified, nor was anything to the contrary to be expected, for the interval spelled for Israel a period of convulsion within and attack from without. As stability was gradually regained, there were unmistakable signs of a trend towards monarchy. The refusal of Gideon to rule over Israel (Jdg. 8:23) was a sign that the people were already desirous of having a king (c. 1070), just as the drastic procedure of Abimelech showed how eagerly some individuals were desirous of being king. This trend was inevitable in the light of the neighboring kingdoms of Edom, Moab and Ammon, of the system of tyrants or chieftains among the Philistines and, especially within Israel, of the supra-tribal jurisdiction that the Judges often commanded in their role of leaders. In portraying the introduction of the monarchy into Israel, the author of 1 Sam. 1-10 reaches back into the period of the Judges, and through the person of Samuel, the last of the Judges, works through the transition from the low religious and political conditions under Eli to the renewal of life and the first fixing of the kingship on Saul. Little is known of the reign of Saul; his administration of the state does not seem to have differed essentially from earlier tribal organization, and his military achievements are summed up in one phrase: "he fought against all his enemies round about... and whithersoever he turned himself, he overcame". Other incidents are so portrayed as to show how Saul is gradually cast off so that both kingship and popular favor pass over fully to David and to his house.

(1) The list of Ramesses III does give a region called Qusana-ruma, i. e. perhaps *Kúsán-róm* "Kushan is high", in northern Syria in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B. C. as Albright has pointed out (*ARI*, p. 205, n. 49), and so the name is established there.

David (c. 1004-965 B. C.) was the last of the charismatic leaders. It is probable that his own personal name is the same in form as the title *dāwidum* "leader", found at Mari (see p. 26)⁽¹⁾. The stories of his early youth and friendship with Jonathan, of his successful wars against the Philistines, of his splendid organization of city and state, and of the sad events that darkened his latter years, are among the most beautiful and touching of the world's literature. Here we can do no more than examine his relations with Syria, for before he could establish a strong and extensive kingdom he had to conquer this difficult foe. Just how far had the Aramaeans penetrated in the west by this period, and what kind of a political front were they able to present to their neighbors? We shall try to see.

As the Aramaeans under the pressure of the Assyrians had moved steadily to the west, they worked their way not only northward toward Carchemish and beyond to Zendjirli (see p. 105), but also moved in increasing masses to the south and past Antilibanus even in David's time, almost to border on Gilead. Near the source of the Litâni river, too, they had filled the land so that certainly in the course of the eleventh century they formed into petty kingdoms that remind one of the small states in Syria and in Palestine during the el-Amarna period. One has reason to ask at this point why they did not form into a single powerful state, but the reason seems obvious in the sense that constant Assyrian pressure behind them had hardly permitted it, apart from the fact that the rugged mountain terrain near and north of Mt. Hermon made them follow the divided pattern of the smaller principalities that had preceded them. This does not mean, of course, that efforts at centralizing their power were not made, for such was certainly true in the case of Zobah and later of Damascus.

Zobah⁽²⁾ was the most powerful of the Aramaean states when David rose to power. Contrary to the claims of H. Winckler and H. Guthe⁽³⁾, who affirmed it was the land of Haurân, south of Damascus, basing their stand on Assyrian geographical lists and the annals of Assurbanapal, latest studies⁽⁴⁾ have made it conclusive that Zobah (Şubatu > Şubutu in Assyrian, see p. 95, n. 7) was, as Friedrich Delitzsch maintained long ago⁽⁵⁾, in the region of Ḥomş and of Antilibanus, a place on the edge of the desert between Damascus and Aleppo, whose principal towns were Tubikh, Chun and Berothai, perhaps modern Bretân. The latter (2 Sam. 8:8) was rich in metals, and there seems nothing in fact against Halévy's view that Zobah is a contracted form of צְבוֹה, a word referring directly to copper. The city of Hamath of Zobah mentioned in Solomon's time by the Chronicler (2 Chr. 8:3), if not due to a corruption in the text of such a late book, may really refer to Hamath on the Orontes for all we know, even though it seems to lie rather far to the north for Zobah. Or again it may refer to another Hamath, somewhat more to the

⁽¹⁾ A. Poebel suggests (*JNES*, 1, 1942, p. 253) that the name Didânu, belonging to the ninth king who is mentioned in the Khorsabad list, may be a contracted form of *Da-wi-da-nim* (gen., *CT*, VIII, 31 a. 1. 21; 31 b, 11. 19 and 21). As regards the use of *dāwidum*, cf. W. F. Albright, *ARI*, p. 218, n. 86, where he translates lines 12-13 of the Mesha stone "And I brought back from there Ḫoriel (Uriel) its chief (*dawid*) and I dragged him....".

⁽²⁾ סְבוֹה 2 Sam. 10:6, 8 ff.; סְבוֹת in 1 Chr. 18:3-8, 1 Kgs. 11:23; cf. S. Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, pp. 135-146.

⁽³⁾ H. Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, I, pp. 137-143; H. Guthe, *Bibel-atlas*² (1926), no. 3.

⁽⁴⁾ E. Forrer, *Provinzenteilung*, pp. 62, 69; W. F. Albright, *ARI*, p. 130 f. Were there possibly, however, two localities called Zobah?

⁽⁵⁾ *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 279 f.

south in Zobah, but in no case can it be located near the modern Qal'at esh-Shaqif⁽¹⁾, near the curve of the Litâni river. In any case, whether this city was independent of Zobah in David's time or not, it appears subject to it when Solomon ascended his father's throne. This was perfectly natural for it was Hadadezer, king of Zobah and David's contemporary, who had probably wrested the Assyrian colonies of Pitru and Mutkinu from Assur-rabi II (1012-972), as we have already noted on p. 105. This tendency towards "empire" as well as the significance of the geographical location of Zobah will appear more in detail in connection with David's wars.

Looking more to the south we encounter a number of smaller Aramaean states which may be said to represent the most southern advance of these original nomads. The first of three which often experience common fortunes is called *Maacah*⁽²⁾. To judge from the sources it is situated just to the southwest of Mt. Hermon, northeast of Lake Huleh. It is possible that it extended still farther west, for the city of Abel, which occurs frequently enough in the Bible and which is usually identified with *Abil el Qamh*, northwest of Dan, is also found as *Abel beth-Ma'aka* in 1 Kgs. 15:20 and 2 Kgs. 15:29, although we are not told if it was in or only near Maacah. In this connection it is natural to think of one of the wives of David, called Maacah, who was Absalom's mother and was a daughter of Talmai, king of *Geshur*. The people of this last state are invariably associated with those of Maacah (Deut. 3:14; Jos. 12:5; 13:11, 13), since they are of neighboring regions, but we cannot say as yet what connections they may have had with the Geshurites to the southwest of Canaan (Jos. 13:2). That the northern Geshur may possibly have been part of Maacah is gleaned from 2 Sam. 13:37 where the Greek A and B texts state that Geshur is "in the land of Maacah", but these texts are perhaps too corrupt to be of conclusive value. The third of this Aramaean group was *Beth Rehob*. This name is encountered on three different occasions. In Jos. 19:28, 21:31 and Jdgs. 1:31, it is evidently a city within the tribe of Asher and is doubtless the *Ra-ḥ-bu* of the Tuthmosis list, no. 87⁽³⁾, but has nothing to do with the locality we wish to discuss⁽⁴⁾. A second mention of the name occurs in connection with the battle of Qarqar in 853 in that one of the participants, Ba'sa, prince of Ammon, is also called *mār-Ru-ḥu-bi*, "son of (Beth) Rehob". Because of this, H. Winckler, and later E. Kraeling⁽⁵⁾, decided the whole question by making Rehob a close northern neighbor of Ammon, its capital being fixed at the ruins of Rihâb, almost due east of Gerasa. Such an opinion, however, could not at the time allow, and hence did not allow for the fact that no Iron Age pottery was found at Rihâb, nor did it allow for the mention of a third Rehob, as in Num. 13:21 and Jdgs. 18:28, which locate it in the valley where Laish Dan is situated. Thus it would lie most probably at the site of the later Panias, north of Golân⁽⁶⁾. This Rehob would also be the same which is most naturally associated in 2 Sam. 10:8 with Beth Maacah and Zobah,

(¹) Cf. L. Desnoyers, *Histoire du peuple hébreu*, Paris (1930), II, p. 220, where an argument is made for this point. Unfortunately Qal'at esh-Shaqif is separated by impassable mountains and gorges from the region of Zobah.

(²) S. Schiffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 75 ff.; E. Kraeling, *AI*, p. 41. For possible religious implications, cf. W. F. Albright, *ARI*, p. 219, n. 104.

(³) M. Müller, *AE*, p. 153.

(⁴) Contrary to Eduard Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

(⁵) H. Winckler, *GI*, I, pp. 141 ff.; E. Kraeling, *AI*, pp. 39 ff.

(⁶) S. Schiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 76; F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, Paris (1938), 2, p. 279.

especially in view of our identification of the latter. In that event it would lie between the two with Zobah to the north and Maacah to the south. We may insist here that too much stress cannot be laid upon the geographical location of these Aramaean states in connection with the northern extent of David's kingdom.

Another Aramaean state we are told of is called *Tob*, which authors generally locate above Gilead, "l'actuelle et-Taiyibe sur la route de Boṣra à Derā" (¹). This would refer, of course, to Jdg. 11:3-5 in the case of Jephthah; that it would also refer to the Tob of 2 Sam. 10:6-8 is to the writer not equally evident — not, at least, if we are to identify it, as many authors do (²), with the *tb* (*tuby*) of the list of Tuthmosis III. The towns here listed, e. g. Merom (12), Damascus (13), Abel (15), Beroth (19), Tob (22), in general seem to indicate a region nearer to Lake Huleh, and so, if another Tob is located here it would harmonize more with the biblical associations of Tob with Maacah and would place the land of Tob more in Golān itself (³). At any rate, wherever it was, it must have been one of the smaller Aramaean principalities. The term *'eber han-nahar*, on the other hand, is hardly more than a geographical designation. It is of not infrequent occurrence and so deserves to be understood in its context as much, if not more, than any other phrase, since it can be so easily confused. In 1 Kgs. 5:4, for instance, referring to Solomon's domain, it evidently refers to the region west of the Euphrates, and would coincide partly with the later *ebir nāri* which denoted Assyrian provinces west of the Euphrates from the time of Assurbanapal (699-626) on; but in the case of 2 Sam. 10:16 the Aramaeans referred to most certainly come from the east of the Euphrates (⁴). With regard to Damascus, although it must have been well Aramaized much before Saul's time, it needs no special mention now except that, at the time in question, we are safe in assuming it to be another of the petty kingdoms we have been considering. Some indication of its later preponderant rule will be given presently.

The foregoing pages have given some idea of how the Aramaeans had grouped in the north, the northeast and, of course, in the east, about Israel just as she was about to rise to the heights of her glory under David and Solomon. True, we have not pictured them as pressing down on Canaan so closely as other authors might wish, but it is best not to speak of such advanced settlements until we have evidence to support our claims. Isolated instances of Aramaean penetration are naturally not to be denied (⁵), but, as it is, their settled centers are already close enough and how sharp was the contrast felt between Israel and the Aramaeans as a distinct

(¹) F. M. Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 10; also E. Meyer *op. cit.*, p. 519; E. Kraeling, *AI*, p. 42, n. 1 (he prefers, however, to look upon Ishtob as a personal name); G. E. Wright in the *Westminster Historical Atlas*, Philadelphia (1945), plates IV E-3, VI E-3, VIII J-7, agrees doubtfully with this identification but without discussing it in the text.

(²) M. Müller, *AE*, p. 97; F. M. Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

(³) Cf. the suggestions of L. Desnoyers, *op. cit.*, p. 19, n. 1 and p. 220, n. 1. He speaks of a Tayibeh which is situated just west of Abil el Qamḥ.

(⁴) S. Schiffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-85. In this connection and in the light of our remarks on the *habiru* (p. 32 f.), the derivation of the name "Hebrew" made by E. Kraeling (*op. cit.*, p. 31 f.) as meaning "one from the shore of the Euphrates", since *'Eber* is equivalent to the shore-region, like the Accadian *kibru*, seems less acceptable.

(⁵) In 2 Sam. 17:27, for example, we encounter *Barzillai*, of Gilead, and in 21:8 another *Barzillai*, who has a son named *Adriel* (Hebr. *Azriel*); all three are typical Aramaean names.

people is clearly preserved in Hebrew tradition. Not only were all the lands inhabited by them often called simply Aram (¹), but their individual states were specified as Aram Zobah, Aram Maacah, Aram Beth Rehob, and Aram Dammeseq, which latter was eventually to be called simply Aram too, that is, Aram *par excellence*. We are inclined to think that Aram Naharaim was less an Aramean state than a territorial designation but we reserve our reasons for the following chapter. Finally, we may extend to these Aramaeans what has become a commonplace in the various histories written about Israel, that is, that the major part of the tenth century formed the ideal opportunity for Israelite expansion. As Egypt, long since inert, could not pretend to Palestinian domination again until the close of this century under Shishac (c. 940-920 B. C.), and Assyrian conquerors were not to begin to emulate Tiglath-pileser I in the west until almost the middle of the next under Assur-nâsir-apli (884-859), the time was no less seasonable, let us say, for Hadadezer of Zobah than it was for David and Solomon in Israel (²). Since both Israelites and Aramaeans were conscious of growing inner strength and found their movements relatively unhampered from without, it is not unnatural to expect that their movements would soon clash, as they did.

C) David's Wars with Syria.

The great wars undertaken to establish Israel over her neighbors under David were largely the continuation of previous engagements on the part of Saul. In the case of the latter, we have preserved to us fairly detailed accounts of his wars against both the Philistines and the Ammonites, but against others we have only the very summary statement that he "...fought against all his enemies round about, against Moab... and Edom, and the kings of Zobah..." (³). There is no reason to discredit this statement, and in the historical context it is not only expected but one is rather surprised that more attention is not given to it, since, e. g., the brief reference to the defeat of Amalek in verse 48 is elaborated subsequently in the following chapter fifteen.

While many of these battles were taking place and David found himself in the unwilling role of fugitive and adversary of Saul, many of these peoples showed themselves favorable to David while remaining hostile to Israel. The king of Moab had sheltered his parents while Saul sought his life; Talmai, the Aramaean king of Geshur, had given him Maacah, his daughter, to wife, and the Ammonites had been so kind in his regard that the memory of it remained ever green within him. Yet as soon as David had first gained control over Judah in Hebron, then united all Israel under his rule and utterly overthrown the Philistines, everything changed. In tracing the events that led to his wars with Syria, since these alone interest us here, it is precisely the very first *casus belli* that is so shrouded in mystery, if we cannot lay it to open jealousy or suspicion on the part of Hanon, king of Ammon. When David sent him an embassy of condolence upon the death of his father, Nachas, the messengers were ignominiously treated, their beards being half-shaved and their garments half cut away. The path to war was clear; straightway the Ammonites summoned to their aid for a thousand talents of silver, as the Chronicler tells us (1,19:6),

(¹) 1 Kgs. 10:29; 11:25; 15:18; 2 Kgs. 16:5 and *passim*.

(²) W. F. Albright, *ARI*, p. 130.

(³) 1 Kgs. 14:47.

several thousand auxiliaries from Beth Rehob, Zobah, Maacah and Tob. Here the Chronicler also speaks of their coming from Aram Naharaim. The auxiliaries were to hold the field while the Ammonites were to defend their capital at Rabbath-Ammon. The final outcome of the fray, after some dubious moments for Israel when the issue hung in the balance, was that the Aramaeans and the Ammonites fled before Joab and his brother Abishay, respectively, as is well known from the biblical recital (1). For the Syrians the hour of decision had come. If they were to succeed in penetrating more deeply into Canaan, they must now expend every effort. Accordingly, Hadadezer (2), king of Zobah, drew heavily on his reserves from across the Euphrates (*eber han-nahar*) and met David at Helam (3), only to behold his forces completely routed, and Sobach, his first general, slain on the field. Finally the capitulation of his vassal kings in full servitude to David made him take some brief respite before pushing the issue once more. We may well pause here to consider how true these biblical accounts really are since archaeology reflects in how great a state of readiness David was. Both Tell Beit Mirsim and Beth-Shemesh are shown to have been fortified with heavy casemated or chambered walls (Fig. 50) dating from the first half of the tenth century B. C. These were not in vogue in Solomon's structures and since these two towns were outposts of Judah, the walls may easily go back to the early period of David's political activity as king. We may surmise, therefore, how much more prepared and poised he was for wars across the Jordan at a later period when all Israel was united under him. In the meantime he laid siege to and took the citadel of Rabbath-Ammon, during which campaign his fall into adultery and subsequent change of heart showed him no less a true Yahwist in penance than in praise.

Now, however, his most dangerous foe by far was Syria. The double defeat inflicted thus far by David was hardly enough to check the Aramaeans for more than a little. The strong forces of chariots which David had overcome showed what rich resources they could command. Furthermore, Hadadezer, king of Zobah, was apparently forming a coalition of these Aramaean states on a greater scale. He was himself called *ben Rehob* (2 Sam. 8:3), a "Rehobite", and, besides the former allies, Damascus now came to join forces with him. David, on the other

(1) 2 Sam. 10:9-14; 1 Chr. 19:9-15.

(2) In 2 Sam. 8:3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 12 and 1 Kgs. 11:23, the name Hadadezer is read הַדָּדֵזֶר but in 2 Sam. 10:16, 19 and 1 Chr. 18:3, 5, 7-10; 19:16, 19 the Massoretic Text, and in all the places cited, the LXX, Syr. and Vulgate give the name Hadarezer. From Aramaean epigraphy and the cult of the storm god Hadad, we know the first version is undoubtedly correct. The discrepancy could easily have come from a confusion of script between *Rēsh* and *Daleth* (see p. 122, n. 2), it is true, but one wonders also if a phonetic assimilation of the *Daleth* to the final sonorous *Rēsh* did not hasten the process. A shift from *Daleth* to *Rēsh* also could have taken place, under influence of the *Mēm*, in the word אֲדָדְמִילִקִי (2 Kgs. 17:31), now known to be from אֲדָדְמִילִקִי; compare the name אֲדָדְמִילִקִי (A. Pohl, *Biblica*, 1941, pp. 35-37). Possibly the same influence of the sonorous *Mēm*, but through dissimilation, brought about the form דָּשָׁק from דָּשָׁק.

(3) This site has never been identified; most authors would locate it in the Yarmuk valley. It seems that not enough consideration has been given to the suggestion that perhaps an older source containing the word *Aglāme* is embedded in our text. This is argued by S. Schiffer on a basis of the variant versions of the story as contained in 2 Sam. 10:17, 18 in MT and the LXX, and the rather divergent parallel texts of 1 Chr. 19:16, 17, where the forms חַילָם and אַלְמָה are missing but a phrase מְלָאָה is improvised instead; cf. die *Aramäer*, pp. 84, 85. More recently, however, the form *Hl'm* has occurred in a list of names in Egyptian covering many places in Palestine; this form Albright (*BAOR*, 83, 1941, p. 33) has equated with the Hebrew *Hl'm* (Helam), north of Gilead.

hand, was quick to nip in the bud any plan that might spell a major disaster for himself. We are told that he "smote Hadadezer the king of Zobah near Hamath, when he went to extend his dominion (literally 'hand') as far as the river Euphrates" (1 Chr. 18:3) (1). In itself, there is no reason why this cannot have been the powerful city on the Orontes, for David could easily have by-passed Damascus in proceeding to the attack. Hadadezer had been worsted; a similar devastating blow was dealt to the Damascenes who had hastened forward to turn the tide of defeat, but only in vain. Then David occupied Damascus with a garrison of his own and added to the spoils of his victory stores of bronze from the cities of Thebath and Chun (תבחת and גן) according to the Chronicler (1, 18:8), and from Betah and Berothai (בְּתָה and בְּרוֹתָה) according to 2 Sam. 8:8. The first occurs in Egyptian (2) as Tubikhu accompanied by the slaughtering knife and the second appears as south of Kadesh on the Orontes; Berothai, to which we have already referred, lay more to the south near the later Baalbek. It was evident, therefore, that David had conquered all Zobah, and so overwhelming was his victory that Thou, the king of Hamath (4), sent his son with gifts of gold, silver, and bronze in thankful greeting for the defeat of his enemy, Hadadezer, and, we may suspect, not without some involuntary feeling of symbolizing by this embassy his own submission to the conqueror. At any rate we may say that David now had gained supreme control of all Palestine and Syria up to Kadesh or even Homş on the Orontes as his northern limit, while to the south he controlled all Edom down to Eziongeber. Damascus, in particular, was at this time under his power. So great a kingdom, with all the natural riches David amassed from it, was, when handed down to Solomon, the perfect *point de départ* for an amazing expansion in the field of commerce and political relations, and, in the temple, a magnificent external manifestation of Israel's faith in God. It is significant also to note that the more northern location of Zobah takes David out of the class of a petty war-lord, and extends his realm far beyond the borders of Israel. One curious thing is that despite his military sagacity, for some reason or other, we can only guess what, he hamstrung (5) the greater number of the chariot horses he had taken from Hadadezer after the battle near Hamath. It was only in Solomon's days that chariotry, the most potent weapon of war at the time, would be maintained on a large scale in Israel, as was already well known to us from the Bible, and now in most recent years has been admirably confirmed by the excavations of chariot stables at Hazor, Tell el-Hesi and especially at Megiddo.

It is hardly the place here to dwell upon the cultural and religious aspects of the United Monarchy in Israel under David and Solomon. The preceding pages, however, have shown in part how this high-water mark in the history of Israel's spiritual Odyssey could be historically reached, inasmuch as the ever-advancing hordes from the Land of the Two Rivers were effec-

(1) The ambiguous infinitival construction in this verse, *bēlektō lēhass̄ib yâdō binēhar Pérât*, is usually understood to refer to Hadadezer as its subject. Could it not possibly refer to David himself, at least reflecting his intention to reach more deeply into the north?

(2) Is this a distinct town or a corrupt scribal transmission of Thebath?

(3) In the list of Tuthmosis III, no. 6; it also occurs in the Amarna letters (E.A. 179:15, 24, 26, 28) as *atutu-bi-hi*.

(4) R. Kittel (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, II, p. 194, n. 4) peremptorily states that this cannot be Hamath on the Orontes. On the contrary, Hamath on the Orontes seems to be the only city that suitably fits the whole context of these wars at this point.

(5) 2 Sam. 8:4 and 1 Chr. 18:4; the verb *'iqqér* is used precisely in this sense in Jos. 11:6, 9.

tually checked — for the time at least. Israel would have enough to do in fighting the pernicious pagan influence of the Canaanites already in her midst, and she did not now, at least, have to combat an added wholesale syncretism that an Aramaean invasion would have meant.

But the stay was brief. The star of Damascus, which had hardly risen in the Amarna days⁽¹⁾, and later could not shine because of the brilliance, first of Hadadezer and more so, of David, now was slowly but surely in the ascendant. Rezôn⁽²⁾, the son of Elyada, had been an aid of Hadadezer, but now fled from him, and, with a band of freebooters, captured Damascus to found his own dynasty there. Although Solomon upon his advent to power had grown from strength to strength in trade and influence (1 Kgs. 5), still once Rezôn was king of Damascus, "he was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon" (1 Kgs. 11:25). The march of the Aramaeans toward the land of Canaan is under way once more and Damascus, now Aram *par excellence*, is in the vanguard. But there is another occasion for that story, for the fortunes of Ben-Hadad and Asa, and of the later coalition of Syria with Israel and other allies to face the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser III at the battle of Qarqar in 853 B. C.⁽³⁾. With the death of David our own story ends, for the phrase Aram Naharaim does not occur after that. It may be of interest to study the phrase more closely and see why it does not.

(1) Damascus in the Amarna age was undeniably an important caravan station as well as the residence of the Egyptian provincial ruler of the land of Upe: cf. *E.A.*, II pp. 1026, 1117 ff. It occurs, however, relatively few times in the Amarna letters and does not emerge in importance as do other cities.

(2) This Rezôn is distinct, of course, from Hezion, the father of Tab-Rimmon and grandfather of Ben-Hadad, two of a succession of Damascene kings given in 1 Kgs. 15:18. Hezion is probably the same name in Hebrew form which we have already encountered in the inscriptions of Tell Halâf, i. e. *"Ka-pa-ra mār ḥa-di-a-ni*, the *Zain* and *Daleth* representing a Hebrew-Aramaic phonetic correspondence now well known from many other examples, as Hebr. *Hadad'-ezri* for Aram. *Hadad'-edri*, etc. It is not impossible, therefore, that the two kingdoms of Kapara and Damascus were related not only by racial affinities but actually by family ties since both families may have belonged to the same clan *Bēt-Ḥadŷān*.

(3) Cf. A. Jepsen, "Israel und Damaskus," *AjO*, 14 (1942), pp. 153-172.

CHAPTER VII.

ARAM NAHARAIM

In the opening pages of our study we had spoken of Aram Naharaim as extending roughly from Carchemish and Aleppo, as a western boundary, towards the east along the upper Euphrates as far as the Khabur River. This latter boundary on the south we matched on the north with a line drawn more or less from Urfa (Edessa) to Tell Halaf, or even beyond to Nisibis. To behold in proper perspective what took place within these bounds we have often had to go beyond, and even far beyond them. Yet we still have much to learn by returning within them. The region enclosed there bore a special name: Naharaim. This was true even when the Mitanni kingdom was at its height. Some other terms such as Mitanni, Hanigalbat, Hurri, etc., partly coincided with it, as we have seen. Herodotus first quoted the words of Hecataeus, "Egypt is the gift of the Nile", but, long before Herodotus, Upper Mesopotamia actually took its name from the two great rivers that crossed it. For the name Naharaim was applied to this country not infrequently during the second half of the second millennium, and in different sources at that. It is necessary, therefore, to subject this term to a more searching scrutiny. What new knowledge we can gain, whether in a geographical, political, or cultural sense, from such an examination will be of immense profit in establishing our final conclusion. Our first step will be naturally to study the name Naharaim in the following sources in order: the Egyptian inscriptions, the Amarna letters, the Old Testament (¹), and to consider what may correspond to it in the Assyrian sources, since the name as such does not occur there. Our obvious aim will be to determine the meaning of the phrase in context. Then, in a second part of this chapter, we shall try to correlate our results and state what we can regarding the origin, nature, and time of usage of the term.

(¹) Obviously this order aims at following the chronological sequence of actual composition, not necessarily that required by the contents of the works, the persuasion being that we shall more securely recapture the *Sitz im Leben* involved in the use of this term Naharaim, if we follow the order of the writers rather than of that which is written. Thus the patriarchal stories, though early, were consigned to writing at a later period, whereas the Egyptian records, though reporting events subsequent to the Patriarchal Age, are nevertheless earlier contemporaneous documents than the Book of Genesis. It would seem to need no further stressing if we insist here that historically our subject should be approached primarily through the minds of the respective authors in sequence, insofar as that is possible, for they are the channels through which knowledge of it comes to us. It follows that, e. g., in the case of Pharaoh, we must test his knowledge and his veracity before assenting to his testimony, but in the case of the sacred writers, we must be assured not only of these two qualities (a historico-theological problem!), but also must apply sane rules governing the transmission of history, whether by oral tradition or by written documents. Unfortunately, there is no space here to enlarge upon these extremely important methodological principles; they have otherwise already been explained and illustrated by W. F. Albright (*FSAC*, pp. 33-43, with additions in his *ARI*, pp. 59-69). Suffice it to say that neglect of them would often make an extreme conservative think no less *in vacuo* about the Bible than would philosophico-religious prejudices the ardent Wellhausenist, though evidently with different approaches and results in each case.

A) The Sources.

1. The Egyptian Inscriptions.

Since the Egyptians did not penetrate deeply into Asia before the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is natural that no mention of *Naharaim*, or *Naharin*, the Egyptian form of the name, should occur in their records before that time. From the period of Tuthmosis I (1525 - ?), however, down to that of Ramesses III (1195-1164), our sources provide a fairly rich documentation which may be exploited in many ways. First of all, however, we shall endeavor to let the texts speak for themselves as much as possible. A number of variant spellings are given in the texts and these will be indicated in the course of our survey.

a) Our first text is from the Asiatic campaign of Tuthmosis I: "After these things one journeyed to Retenu (*Rtnw*) to wash his heart among the foreign countries. His majesty arrived at Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)... his majesty made a great slaughter among them" (1). Amosis, the son of Abina and the naval officer whose inscription this is, tells of the Egyptian victory. Presumably he refers to Palestine and beyond with the word Retenu since in the New Kingdom it applied to Palestine (2) and even extended into Syria.

b) Another Amosis, called Amosis-pen-nekhbet, says in the same campaign: "I captured for him (Tuth. I) in the country of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), 21 hands, 1 horse and 1 chariot" (3). Nothing definite thus far is learned of Naharin, except that it is beyond Retenu.

c) It is not until the first campaign of Tuthmosis III (1469-1436), Egypt's greatest military leader, that we learn "That [wretched] enemy, [the chief] of Kadesh has come and entered into Megiddo; he [is there] at this moment. He has gathered to himself the chiefs of [all] the countries [which are] on the water of Egypt, and as far as Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), consisting of [the countries] of Khuru (*H-ru*) Qode (*Kdw*)..." (4). We cannot say from this text as yet whether Kadesh may be included in the term Naharin.

d) In his thirty-third regnal year Tuthmosis III accomplished his greatest campaign, the conquest of Mitanni: "[He set up a tablet] east of this water (Euphrates); he set up another beside the tablet of his father... Behold, his majesty went north... laying waste the settlement of that foe of wretched Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)... His majesty arrived at the city of Niya (*Nyy*) going southward, when his majesty returned, having set up his tablet in Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)... [List] of the tribute brought to his majesty by the chiefs of this country: 513 slaves, male and female; 260 horses; gold, 45 deben, 1/9 kidet; silver vessels of the workmanship of Zahi (*D-hy*)... [chariots] with all their weapons of war; 28 oxen, calves and bullocks; 564 bulls; 5,323 small cattle; incense, 828 (*mn*-) jars; sweet oil and [green oil]... all fruits in quantity" (5).

This text records an invasion right into the heart of Naharin and reveals some of its abundant natural wealth. Here it seems to take on a political meaning, being equivalent apparently to Mitanni. But is Zahi partly included in Naharin here? It is a land along the Phoenician

(1) Breasted, *AR*, II, 81; hereafter, unless otherwise indicated, numbers refer to paragraphs, not pages, in the *Ancient Records*.

(2) M. Müller, *AE*, p. 144.

(3) *Urk.*, IV, p. 36; Breasted, *ibid.*, 85.

(4) *Urk.*, IV, p. 649: Breasted, *ibid.*, 420. *Huru* meant first southern Palestine and the coastal region, but, after the New Kingdom, was extended to all Palestine, thus coinciding roughly with *Rtnw*. Qode is obscure; probably it meant a region on the Phoenician coast near the Gulf of Issos, and later was extended to include regions towards the south.

(5) *Urk.*, IV, pp. 697, 698; Breasted, *ibid.*, 478-482, *passim*. On a granite stele of Tuthmosis III found in the temple of Amon at Barkal, the name Naharin occurs four times (lines 9, 12, 13, 15) as *N-h-r-n*. In line 13 it is shown that Naharin lay clearly east of the Euphrates. Cf. G. A. Reisner and M. B. Reisner, "Inscribed monuments from Gebel Barkal", *ZAS*, 69 (1933), pp. 28-31.

coast and extends to the south in Palestine. At the beginning of the battle of Kadesh (1288), it is said of Ramesses II, "and his Majesty was in *D-³-hy*"⁽¹⁾. Thus Kadesh and north Zahi do not seem to belong to Naharin. Tuthmosis III records the tribute of the Hittites paid to him when returning from Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*) on the same Asiatic campaign.

e) In his thirty-fifth regnal year the same Pharaoh had to suppress a revolt in Naharin: "When his majesty arrived at the city of Araina (-r-³-n), behold, that wretched foe of [Naharin] (*N-h-r*-y-n) had collected horses and people... Then his majesty prevailed against these barbarians by the souls of [his] father A[mon]... of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*). They fled headlong... List of booty... from these barbarians of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)"⁽²⁾. Again rich booty of horses, chariots wrought in gold and silver, bows, bronze helmets, sweet oil, rings and bracelets are enumerated. The city of Araina unfortunately has never been located, but it is most probably situated in the land of Takhsî, for which see below in section g.

f) On his seventeenth and last campaign, in his forty-second regnal year, the Pharaoh again suppressed a revolt of Tunip and Kadesh, and counted among his booty what was "brought from there... of the wretched Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*) who were as auxiliaries among them..."⁽³⁾. The word "there" refers to the district of Kadesh. Though clearly in alliance with Naharin we cannot say that Kadesh was a part of it — nor, for that matter, if Naharin is clearly used as yet in a political sense.

g) An officer in the service of Tuthmosis III and also of Amenophis II (1436-1422), who was called Amenemhab, recounts some of his experiences in connection with the campaigns in Asia: "When his majesty came to Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) I brought off three men from the fight there... Again I fought... (on) that expedition in the land of the 'Height of Wan' (*W-³-n*) on the west of Aleppo (*H-³-r-³-bic*), I brought off 13 Asiatics as living prisoners... Again I fought (on) that expedition in the land of Carchemish (*K-³-ry-k-³-my-³-k*)... prisoners, I crossed over the waters of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) while they were in my hand, to—. I beheld the royal victories of the King... in the country of Senzar (*Sn-d-³-r*), when he made a great sl[laughter] [among] them... [He] captured [the city of] Kadesh (*Kd-³-ic*); I was not absent from the place where he was... Again I beheld his victory in the country of Takhsî (*T-³-h-³-sy*) the wretched, in the city of Mero... (*Mr-³-yc*)... Again... another excellent deed which the Lord... did in Niya (*Nyy*). He hunted 120 elephants, for the sake of their tusks and...". At the siege of Kadesh he continues, "I went forth, I brought 2 men (*m-r-³-y-³-n*) lords, as living prisoners..."⁽⁴⁾.

The Height of Wan is most probably in the western region of Aleppo, possibly at Jebel Sim'an⁽⁵⁾. Senzar corresponds to the *mituзи-in-za-ar* of the Amarna tablets⁽⁶⁾, today the Qal'at Seidjar on the west bank of the middle Orontes, somewhat northwest of Hamath. Takhsî is more difficult to locate but is most plausibly thought of as the land⁽⁷⁾ between Kadesh on the Orontes and Niya, which is almost certainly in the region of Qal'at el-Mudiq (Apamea) to the northwest of Hamath⁽⁸⁾. The other localities mentioned are already well known and one cannot escape the impression that a tale of adventures in and near the land of Naharin is being narrated throughout. The mention of the *margannu* in Kadesh, in the light of our study of the Mitanni kingdom, awakens at this point the suspicion that if Kadesh were within Naharin, then Naharin is really a synonym for Mitanni.

h) On the obelisk of Tuthmosis III, now in Constantinople, we read: "...(Tuth. III) lord of victory... who makes his boundary as far as the Horns of the Earth, the marshes as far as Na-

(¹) M. Müller, *AE*, pp. 179, 180; but see below in section m for Breasted's opinion.

(²) *Urk.*, IV, pp. 710, 711; Breasted, *ibid.*, 498-501.

(³) *Urk.*, IV, p. 730; Breasted, *ibid.*, 532.

(⁴) *Urk.*, IV, pp. 890 ff.; Breasted, *ibid.*, 581-590.

(⁵) Thus Breasted, *ibid.*, p. 231, note c, as against Müller, who would identify it with Mons Casius nearer the sea, north of the Orontes.

(⁶) *EA*, 53:42; cf. *EA*, II, p. 1116 f.

(⁷) Bilabel (*GV*, p. 42, n. 1) does not rule out O. Weber's view (*EA*, II, p. 1112) that it is not far from Damascus, and agrees that the list of Ramesses II "Tibiši, Tunep, Kadeš, Qaṭna, also ganz folgerichtig den Weg nach Norden einhält." But surely Tunip lies north of Kadesh and Qaṭna! Cf. F. M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2, p. 6.

(⁸) Abel, *ibid.*, p. 5; M. Müller, *AE*, p. 263 f.

harin (*N-h-r-n*)... who crossed the 'Great Bend' of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) with might and with victory at the head of his army, making a great slaughter..."⁽¹⁾.

These texts are important for not only do they give explicit testimony that Naharin lies also east of the Euphrates, but, with the expression "marshes", show that it extends to lands off in the east of Mesopotamia, and so must have included most of Mitanni. That it included part of Assyria, especially in the days of Saushsatar (c. 1460? -), the contemporary of Tuthmosis III, is very doubtful (see above pp. 77 and 83). Furthermore, these quotations from the Pharaoh, dealing in superlatives, may easily be exaggerated.

i) In the time of Amenophis II the representation of the nations subject to the Pharaoh includes Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) and an enumeration of gifts includes a battle chariot for his Majesty, the wood for which was brought from "the country of Naharin" (*N-h-ry-n*)⁽²⁾. A number of inscriptions follow mentioning Naharin, but do not shed new light on the subject. We simply record them here: 1) a dedication of Tuthmosis III at Turra, south of Cairo, runs: "made under the hand of the hereditary prince... vigilant for the temples; who erected tablets in the land of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) and in the land of Karoy..."⁽³⁾.

2) Tuthmosis IV lists among his spoils things "which his majesty captured in Naharin (—n) the wretched, on his first victorious campaign". And Amenophis, one of his guards-men, speaks of "...going from Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*) to Karoy (*K-r-y*) behind his majesty, while he was on the battlefield...". On a tomb of Khemhet, treasurer of Amenophis III (1413-1377), Asiatic princes are shown making their obeisance, "Bringing in the tribute of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)... in order to crave that the breath of life be granted to them..."⁽⁴⁾.

j) On a victory tablet in Thebes, Amenophis III drives over the Syrians; it is inscribed "The Good God, Golden Horus... smiting Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*, sic!) with his mighty sword". Again, "... [every country], all people (*rhyt*), all populations (*hnmm.t*), Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*, sic!). the wretched Kush, Retenu the Upper and Retenu the Lower are at the feet of this Good God, like Re, forever"⁽⁵⁾.

This inscription is curious in that Lower Retenu, which is a synonym for Naharin, and in the New Kingdom is replaced by it⁽⁶⁾, is used here in the very same text with it. This may be due to the fact that the tone is self-laudatory and hence would tend to become formulaic and repetitious, employing synonyms. Did we know precisely where Upper Retenu ceased and Lower Retenu began, we would be better able to fix the southern limits of Naharin as forming the extreme eastern limit of the realm. Queen Teye, for example, the consort of Amenophis III, says of herself without further precision "... the wife of a mighty king whose northern (boundary is)... as far as Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)".

k) A scarab records the marriage of Amenophis III and Kelu-Khepa: "...Marvels brought to his majesty. L. P. H.: Kirgipa (*Ky-r-gy-p*), the daughter of the chief of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*), Satarna (*Si-t-r-n*); (and) the chief of her harem-ladies (viz.) 317 persons"⁽⁷⁾. Here Naharin seems clearly identified with Mitanni.

A tomb relief of the same Pharaoh is inscribed thus: "Communication of the report of the harvest of the year 30... by the stewards of the [estates] of Pharaoh, L. P. H., together with the chiefs of the South and North, from the land of Kush the wretched, as far as the boundary of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)"⁽⁸⁾.

Evidently in this last quotation the Pharaoh wishes to include the extreme limits of all his empire and the reference to Naharin is reminiscent of the one quoted in section h about the

(¹) *Urk.*, IV, p. 613; Breasted, *op. cit.*, 630-631; he points out (p. 203, note a) that it is from this obelisk we must prove that Pharaoh crossed the Euphrates, and not from his annals, as against Müller (*AE*, p. 254).

(²) Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes*, New York (1930), Vol. I, plates XI and XXII respectively.

(³) Breasted, *ibid.*, 800, assigned it to Amenophis II, but see A. Gardiner. *AEAO*, I, pp. 150 * f.

(⁴) *Ibid.*, 817-819.

(⁵) *Ibid.*, 858.

(⁶) W. M. Müller, *AE*, pp. 145 ff., referred Upper Retenu to the Palestine hill country and the Phoenician hinterland. A. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 145 *, refers it to Syria, north of Lebanon.

(⁷) Breasted, *ibid.*, 867.

(⁸) *Ibid.*, 871.

marshes. Here attention must be called to the distinction between the meaning or contents of a phrase and the truthfulness with which it is used. Our knowledge of contemporaneous history (see above pp. 83 ff., 86) makes us reasonably certain in branding its use here as an idle boast on the part of Amenophis III, no matter what meaning the preserved formula had in itself. The latter, unfortunately, is no less obscure here than it was when previously used by Tuthmosis III.

1) In the Nineteenth Dynasty the practice of filling in inscriptions with phrases borrowed from former times, but now conventionalized and meaningless, grows apace. Sethos I (1318-1301) gives in a list of conquered localities the following: "1-9, the 'Nine Bows'; 10. Khatti (*Ht*); 11. Naharin (*N-h-r-ny*); 12. Alasa (-*r-s*)", etc.; on a relief at Karnak, there is inscribed over the king, "Smiting the Troglodytes, beating down the Asiatics (*Mn-t-yw*), making his boundary as far as 'Horns' of the Earth", as far as the marshes of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)"⁽¹⁾.

Obviously the remarks of the preceding section apply to the second quotation here, since Sethos I was hardly able to fix his border beyond Galilee. The phrases are taken *verbatim* from Tuthmosis III; see section *h* above.

m) In a poem on the famous battle of Kadesh, which took place in the fifth year of the reign of Ramesses II (1301-1234), against the Hittites, we read "Beginning of the victory of King... (Ramesses II)... which he achieved in the land of Khatti (*Ht*) and Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), in the land of Arvad (*Y-r-tw*), in Pedes (*Py-d-s*), in the Derden (*D-r-d-ny*), in the land of Mesa (*M-s*), in the land of Kelekesh (*[K]-r-[k]y-s*, sic!) —, Carchemish (*K-[r]-k-my-s*), Kode (*Kdy*), the land of Kadesh (*Kds*), in the land of Ugarit (-*ki-ry-t*) and Mesheneth (*Mv-s-n-t*)... When his majesty reached the city⁽²⁾, behold, the... chief of Khatti (*Ht*) had come, having gathered together all countries from the ends of the sea to the land of Khatti, which came entire: the Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*) likewise, and Arvad...⁽³⁾. He left not a country... with their chiefs who were with him, every man bringing his chariotry..". Before the battle, the Pharaoh forms his leading chiefs in the land of Amor (-*mu-r*), the coastal region near northern Lebanon, and then defeats the foe. In more official copies of the event, details are added, e. g. "Lo, his majesty was in Zahi (*D-hy*) on his second victorious campaign...". The captured Hittite scouts report of their chief, "See, the vanquished chief of Khatti is stationed... with... every country which is in the... land of Khatti, the land of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*), and all Kode (*Kd*)... drawn up for battle, behind Kadesh the deceitful"⁽⁴⁾. After the battle he receives prisoners "brought off... in this wretched land of Naharin (*N-h-ry-n*)" with all the allied Hittite chiefs... "His face is fierce-eyed before the chief of Khatti, and the countries of Naharin [— — —]"⁽⁵⁾.

These texts are quite significant in that they seem to differentiate sharply between the three main component forces opposing the Egyptians, namely, the Hittites and their allies from the west, the forces of Naharin, and lastly, those of the land of Kode. Individual localities may be often difficult to locate⁽⁶⁾. We may note here again that Kadesh is placed not too far from Zahi. Possibly since only northern Palestine is involved, the name Retenu does not occur. With regard to Naharin, we must recall that at this time Muwatallis, the Hittite king, controlled most of the land west of the Euphrates⁽⁷⁾. If the Egyptians also had this in mind and were not just repeating an old formula, their usage of Naharin underwent a serious modification — but the following text seems to exclude this.

n) At least three years after the battle of Kadesh, Ramesses II once more campaigned against Naharin: "...His majesty was at the front of his infantry and his chariotry——. The vanquished of Khatti, who were in the districts of the city of Tunip (*Tu-n-p*) in the land of N(a-

(1) Breasted, *op. cit.*, III, 114, 118.

(2) I. e., the city of Kadesh.

(3) There follows the same list of names as above, with some additions. They may be divided into the older group of Syrian enemies of Egypt and the newer one of the Hittites and their allies from Asia Minor; cf. Breasted, *op. cit.*, III, p. 136, note c and Müller, *AE*, p. 334 f. and 355 f. All quotations of section *m* thus far are found in Breasted, *ibid.*, 306-309.

(4) Breasted, *ibid.*, 318, 321.

(5) *Ibid.*, 344, 346.

(6) "It is well known that the greater part of the topographical material contained in Egyptian texts of all kinds... has so far resisted all attempts at definite localization or identification", J. Simons, *Egyptian Topographical Lists*, Leiden (1937), p. 4.

(7) See above ch. 5, p. 97.

harin)... [the vanquished] of Khatti... of the city of Tunip (*Tw-n-p*) in the land of Naharin (*N-h-r-n*)..."⁽¹⁾ — a most clear statement of the southern extent of Naharin.

o) On the so-called Bentresh stele we read of Ramesses II that "... his majesty was in Naharin (*N-h-r-[n]*) according to his yearly custom, while the chiefs of every country came bowing down in peace, because of the fame of his majesty. From the marshes was their tribute; silver, gold... were upon their backs..."⁽²⁾. This text, dating from some eight or nine hundred years after the Pharaoh, appears as boastful regarding the number of the enemy as it remains obscure concerning the eastern borders of Naharin; cp. sections *h* and *l* above.

p) With regard to subsequent occurrences we must recall that the story of the Doomed Prince, dating from near the middle of the thirteenth century B. C., is set in Naharin (*N-h-r-n-p*). In the Twentieth Dynasty we have the name Naharin (*N-h-r-n*) listed before Tunip (*T-*r*-n-p*) on a temple wall at Medinet Habu under Ramesses III (1195-1164)⁽³⁾; listed as *n-h-r-[n]* again before Upper Retenu (*r-t-n h-r-t*) on a temple pylon at Karnak under the same Pharaoh⁽⁴⁾; finally on a small statue found in the temple of Mut at Karnak, recorded as *n-h-r-n* between two listings of the "Nine Bows", together with *g-n-[gr]*, *h-t-⟨⟩*, etc.⁽⁵⁾. It is a list which, though dating from the reign of Taharqa (668-663), is only a copy of an earlier one of Haremheb. These last references, however, hardly shed new light on our problem.

If we try to formulate some conclusions from the foregoing, we may summarize as follows: Naharin lies beyond Palestine (Retenu in the New Kingdom) and extends beyond the Euphrates (see *b*, *j* and *h*): its southern border is certainly at Tunip⁽⁶⁾ (see *n*), but from the character of many recitals (see *d* and *f*) could not have extended to Kadesh, or to parts south of it; to the east it extended far beyond the Euphrates (see *h*), but remained undefined, so far as we can judge, in regard to precise boundaries (see *j*, *k* and *l*). It is used to indicate the eastern and northern extent of the realm, it is true (*ibid.*), but one must remember in this connection that no Egyptian equivalent exists for the river Tigris. There seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the Egyptians did identify Naharin at times with Mitanni in the political sense (see *d* and especially *k*)⁽⁷⁾. A. Erman's supposition, therefore, that the king of Mitanni was overlord of the whole river country is herewith well defended against Max Müller's contention that political unity in Naharin never did prevail⁽⁸⁾. Yet in the vast majority of cases the name is followed by the determinative for foreign land⁽⁹⁾, and so we must consider the term as primarily geographic.

Having already noted the time when the term Naharin was introduced and the duration of its use (p. 132), we realize that it was obviously a direct borrowing of the Semitic name. We may presume therefore that the previous name Lower Retenu must have been a rather nebulous

⁽¹⁾ Breasted, *ibid.*, 365.

⁽²⁾ *Ibid.*, 434; does "from the marshes" refer possibly to the preceding verb "came"?

⁽³⁾ J. Simons, *ibid.*, 84, text on p. 175.

⁽⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 87, text on p. 176.

⁽⁵⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 103, text on p. 187. The "Nine Bows" is somewhat enigmatic. The nine gods of Heliopolis were called the Nine Bows in the Pyramid texts, and may refer to a constellation. A later connotation would be ethnological, referring to barbarian tribes.

⁽⁶⁾ Tunip is not yet precisely located, but there is every indication that it lay above Kadesh near the Orontes and southwest of Aleppo: cf. M. Müller, *AE*, p. 257 f.; F. M. Abel, *op. cit.*, 2, p. 6, would situate it somewhat more to the east.

⁽⁷⁾ At the end of an Amarna letter (*E.A.*, 27) of Tuishrata, there is a note in hieratic which reads, "copy of the *Nh(r)yn* letter". Line 12 of the Barkal stele we have already referred to (p. 132, n. 5) also identifies Naharin with Mitanni. Cf. also A. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 174 * ff.

⁽⁸⁾ M. Müller, *ibid.*, pp. 250, 251.

⁽⁹⁾ E. g., consult the sixteen specific instances listed by J. Simons, *ETL*, p. 208.

concept. It is, in fact, quite difficult to determine just what the Egyptians intended by it. The opinion quoted above (pp. 76, 134), which places it in the region of the Euphrates, is based ultimately on what is little more than an assumption on the part of W. Max Müller. In topographical lists Lower Retenu is found in a rather conventional position, always occurring after Upper Retenu. In any case, however, as soon as the Egyptians invaded Mesopotamia, the more native appellation of Naharin began to supplant Lower (?) Retenu even in their own speech. Since we shall treat the Semitic forms of the name presently, we may pause here to note the various Egyptian forms. In section *a* it is written *N-h-ry-n*; in *b*: *N-h-ry-n*; in *c, i, k*, and *m*: *N-h-ry-n*; in *d, e, f, i* and *j*: *N-h-ry-n*; in *g, h, i, n, o* (?) *p* and on p. 132, n. 5: *N-h-r-n*; in *e, i* and *k*: *N-h-r-n*; in *j* (sic) and *l*: *N-h-r(y!)-n*; in *p*: *N-h-rn-n*. The Golénischeff Onomasticon (A. Gardiner, *AEIO*, III, plate X, 4) gives the further writing *N-h-ryc(!)-n*. How great a value is to be attached to these transcriptions for Asiatic topography is relative to the respective views held regarding Egyptian syllabic orthography. J. Simons, for example, remarks here that the "insertion of w (y) between h and the last m ... probably... renders a consonant of the Semitic original... and has nothing to do with syllabic orthography or Egyptian vocalized transcription" (1). On the other hand, W. F. Albright contends that the letters w are alphabetic and render vocalically the Semitic original; thus *Na-h(a)-ri-n(a)* = Amorite **Nah(a)rén(a)* (2). How far-reaching would be the results of these different approaches one may imagine when parallel situations arise. The subject of Egyptian syllabic orthography is a complicated one and there is room here only for the briefest statement of the various views. E. Sethe, followed by his own teacher, A. Erman, held that it was nothing but a progressive "Entwertung" of the so-called weak consonants *y* and *w*, although later they altered their views and admitted that there were signs of vocalization in the Egyptian script. W. M. Müller claimed that the Egyptians used a real syllabary, in imitation of that of the Accadians, and that the weak consonants represented the vowels. W. F. Albright holds that this orthography is indeed syllabic but that it is a native invention of Egypt and not an importation; on the basis of comparative induction, he finds that the Egyptians used in combination short monosyllabic words with fixed pronunciation to reproduce foreign names (3); the dual sign *y* and the consonant *w* are used to represent the vowels *i* (e) and *u* (o). J. Simons, finding evidence both for "Entwertung" and for a vocalizing script, accepts neither theory to the exclusion of the other, and strikes out for a middle course that will, as he sees it, more adequately account for all the data on hand (4). Professor Albright, however, has informed the writer that he has ample new material now which confirms strikingly his own views. Thus, in short, the present status of the question may be said to lie today.

2. The el-Amarna Letters.

With the Amarna letters we come much closer to the source whence the Egyptian term Naharin was borrowed. These Canaanite documents date from the early part of the fourteenth

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 131. Note the form *Nhry* without final *n* in A. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, I, p. 173*.

(2) W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, New Haven (1934), IX, A, 3.

(3) E. g., the use of *rn*, "name", in the word *na-ha-rin-na* = naharin; cf. Albright, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 45.

(4) J. Simons, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19. Both in the author's *Preliminary Remarks* and especially in Albright's monograph, pp. 1-8, the reader will find a valuable *exposé* of the historical development of the question under discussion.

century B. C., hence from a time when Mitanni perhaps was quite strong under Tuishrata. They contain a few references to our country, in fact, from places close to its very borders. Let us see, therefore, in what geographical or political context they are used, and what may be determined from them regarding the form of the name.

a) The first occurrence is in a letter (1) from the prince of Byblos, Rib-Addi, whose tragic fortunes we have witnessed above (p. 87 f.). Writing to Amenophis IV, he says: *li-el-[m]a-ad šarru be-li | i-nu-ma is-[s]a-bat šar Ha-ti | ka-li mātāti ku-ti-ti | šar mātu Mi-it-ta šum(!)-ma | šar mātu Na-ab-ma [ù] māt šarrāni ra-bu.* "Let the king, my lord, know that the king of Khatti has conquered all the lands, which were the possession (2) of the king of Mitta or (3) of the king of Nahma and the land of... the kings...".

In this text it is practically certain that the names Mitta and Nahma are shortened forms for Mitanni and Nahrima. We grant, nevertheless, that this is argued from the context and from the external evidence of contemporaneous history; phonetically there is a difficulty in seeing how we could have the shift *nahrima* > *nahma*, especially when the penultimate syllable was accented. Either *nahma* is another name, otherwise unheard of, or more probably it is due simply to a scribal omission of the *ri*. The two names here, Mitanni and Nahrima, are apparently synonymous in conformity with Egyptian usage.

b) Another letter (4), addressed to the Pharaoh in behalf of Byblos (ancient Gubla), deplores the fact that Aziru of Amurrū to all appearances has *carte blanche* to do as he pleases with Pharaoh's loyal vassals. We read: ... — *sa-ni-tú la — | a yi-pu-šu šar mātu Ha-at-ta | ù šar mātu Na-ri-ma | ù...* "Further, may the king of Khatti and the king of Narima and... not do..."

This letter remains unfinished and hence leaves us guessing at its import. Does it hint at separate actions of the Hittites and Mitanni, or at some collusion between the two, or, later on, of the former with Artadāma called king of Hurri? (5). In the syllabic spelling, it is strange that *h* is not represented — the Accadian language of the Amarna letters, of course, is a rather hybrid product, but one would expect this to show in grammar only and not in the dropping of part of the word skeleton, such as the strong consonant *h* is.

c) When Biryawāza (6), a Syrian prince acting as Pharaoh's representative in Upe, reports to him, he says: *a-na n[a-ša]-a[r] | alāniⁿⁱ ù | harrāna^{m[š]na} ša u[š]-ši-ir-ta | [a]-na māt [n]a-[a]l-ri-mi | [l]i-[ta]-[ši]...ca |*, "in order to protect the (our) cities and the caravans, which thou hast sent to Naharin. Let go forth...".

It is perfectly right that we stop a moment here to marvel at what a master dissembler Biryawāza was — it was no one but he who had plundered the caravan of Burnaburiash on its way to Egypt (EA, 7:73 ff.)! In our text Nahrima is presumably Mitanni again and probably referred to a period before the fall of Tuishrata, when commerce with Egypt was still possible. Be it noted also that phonetically the word appears in its full syllabic form, though partly reconstructed. This reconstruction is based on the form as it appears in the following instance.

d) The three preceding examples have come from regions which from the Egyptian texts we know must have lain near but outside of Naharin. In themselves, however, these three occurrences have given no hint of Naharin's boundaries. Farther south, ARAD-Khepa writes from Jerusalem (7), bewailing his hapless lot at the hands of the Khapiru: ...*ša-ak-na-ti | e-nu-ma is[el]lippi i-na libbiⁱⁱ tāmti | kāt zu-ru-uh šarri dannatu | ti-li-ik-ki mātu na-ah-ri-ma^{ki} | ù "ātu ka-pa(!)-si^{ki} ù i-na-an-na...* "I have become like a ship in the midst of the sea (8). The mighty hand

(1) EA, 75:35 ff.

(2) EA, 140:30 ff.

(3) Cf. O. Weber, EA, II, p. 1072.

(4) EA, 194:20 ff. Formerly this name was read Namiawaza but has now been corrected; cf. Thureau-Dangin, RA, 37, p. 171; J. Mendenhall, JNES, VI (1947), p. 123.

(5) EA, 288: 32 ff.

(6) As against Knudtzon's former translation, "Ich habe zu einer anderen Zeit gesetzt ein Schiff auf das Meer"; the improved translation is due to Prof. Albright, with whom the writer had the pleasure of reading the ARAD-Khepa letters. He explains the word *šaknati* not as an active but as a stative verb with a Canaanite hybrid ending, possibly meant by the scribe as a passive *šakinati*. For further explanation of how we may come to have the form *qat(i)lāti*, instead of the normal Accadian *gatlāku*, see F. Böhl, "Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe", Leipziger Semitistische Studien, V, 2 (1909), pp. 43, 46.

of the king takes Nahrima and Kush. But now...". Evidently this letter refers to a time when the Pharaoh ruled over Mitanni but does not give us any more precise information about it.

It is striking that in all the Amarna occurrences, the name Nahrima is preceded by the determinative *māt* for country; the last of the four, which, incidentally, is the only completely preserved form, also adds the further determinative *KI* to the same effect. Hence, though at times the meaning of the context, e. g., in sections *a* and *b*, equates the word with Mitanni, still the name itself is primarily geographic, not political, in agreement with the Egyptian form *Naharin*. One may naturally ask at this point how it is that the Amarna form has a *l* when both the Egyptian (*naharin*) and Hebrew (*naharaim*) forms have a *h* in the word. The original form undoubtedly had a *h* (cp.  -  -  נָהָרָא "river"), which in Accadian could only be omitted or be represented by *l* (see p. 23, n. 2). We shall have some more remarks to make concerning the form *nahrima* in section B of this chapter.

3. The Old Testament.

In approaching the biblical texts which contain allusions to Naharaim, especially in the Pentateuch, there is, of course, the question of its Mosaic authorship and the distinct documentary sources. To hold the second in one sense or another, as practically all biblical critics do today, does not mean that one must deny the first, as most non-Catholic biblical critics today also do. Respecting the first, it may be remarked that most recent archaeological discoveries and historical researches have imposed upon the liberal exegesis of the Wellhausen school a severe revision of its position. Then, when one considers what a wide margin of freedom is left, e. g., to Catholics by the *Responsa* of the Biblical Commission, correctly understood⁽¹⁾, and as stressed in the recent letter on the Pentateuch (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, XV, 1948, pp. 45-48), it appears that the cleavage between this latter group and the modern independent critic is much less than is sometimes supposed. In fact, it seems difficult even for the most independent critic not to admit now that the contents of the Pentateuch are Mosaic, at least in character, if not in composition. A case in point, and most timely for our present discussion, is R. Kittel's remark, "Auch das Verhältnis zu Aram, wie es die Vätersage wiedergibt, lässt sich aus der nachmosaischen Geschichte des Volkes kaum zureichend verständlich machen, am wenigsten aber als Rückspiegelung der Königszeit"⁽²⁾. The preceding chapter and our knowledge of later enmity between Israel and Aram bear out the last clause fully — nay more, even in the time of the Judges, the whole orientation of Israel towards Egypt, Sinai, Edom, etc., undermines any supposition that the

Regarding the word *enūma*, although in Old Babylonian it meant "when", still in these Amarna letters it meant "like". The reason doubtless was that, although in Middle Babylonian the word *kīma* corresponded to the Canaanite *kī* meaning "like", nevertheless this Amarna Accadian was a legacy from Old Babylonian where *kīma* corresponded to the Canaanite *kī* meaning "that", and so confusion had to be avoided. The whole phenomenon may appear somewhat complicated but there is ample evidence to establish the equation *enūma* = "like" in the Amarna letters; cf. the unpublished dissertation (Johns Hopkins University) of Dr. F. A. Baeppler, "The Particles *inūma* and *kī* in the Amarna Tablets".

(¹) J. Coppens, *The Old Testament and the Critics*, Paterson (1942), pp. 147, 152, 153, n. 43, and 158.

(²) R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I, p. 433.

patriarchal stories are a product of that period. Rather they must have been recounted for centuries before Moses was born. Nor is it irrelevant here to point out in passing that, from our increased knowledge of comparative Northwest-Semitic epigraphy, it becomes increasingly evident that even in its linguistic form the Pentateuch is often much more archaic than was hitherto suspected. Having stressed therefore the ancient character of the first materials we shall handle, it is in any case right to treat all of them, in accordance with note 1 of page 131 above, after the Egyptian inscriptions and the Amarna letters.

a) Our first text, despite the preceding remarks, is assigned by the critics to a chapter containing elements of both the J and the E documents and so thought to be composed between 850 and 700 B. C. It is, however, just one verse borrowed from that whole rich treasure of patriarchal stories which link up Israel and North Mesopotamia by family bonds and similarity of custom. Abraham (1) sends his servant to his "own country and kindred" (v. 4) to obtain a wife for his son Isaac. The servant went forth: **וַיֹּקֶם וַיָּלֶךְ אֶל-עָרָם נָהָרִים נָהָרָה** "And he arose and went on to Aram Naharaim, to the city of Nahor". Here the LXX read: **εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν**, comment on which we remit to later; the same holds true for the dual form of Naharaim and its conjunction with the word Aram, without which it does not occur in the Bible.

It is easily seen from this text that the country of Naharaim lies beyond the Euphrates and is centered about the whole Balikh valley, in keeping with patriarchal traditions about Harran, for the name Nahor is well established as the Naklur of the Mari tablets and the *Til-Nakhiri* of the later Middle Assyrian documents, located below Harran.

b) Our second text (2) is from the so-called D document and hence dated by most critics to as late a period as that shortly before the reform of Josiah (621 B. C.). The Ammonites and Moabites are barred from the assembly of Yahweh, since they failed to sustain Israel: **וְאַשְׁר שָׁכַר עַלְךָ אָח-בָּלָעַם בְּנֵ-בָעָר מִפְתֹּחַ אָרָם נָהָרִים** "and because they hired against thee Balaam, the son of Beor, from Pethor of Aram Naharaim". The LXX read **ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας** but omit mention of the city of Pethor — why, it is hard to say. This city, "which is on the river" (i. e., Euphrates, Num. 22:5) and is the Pitru of the Assyrian inscriptions, certainly lay in the heart of Aram Naharaim.

In the light of our previous discussion on the Balaam episode (pp. 119 ff.), if Naharaim extended south far enough to reach Qedem, the region due east of Byblos, this would seem to advance its borders so far as to include Kadesh on the Orontes, and regions even beyond it. This would represent an advance in our knowledge from the days when Aram Naharaim extended southwards "vielleicht bis in die Gegend von Hama" (3). However, such a conclusion would be at great variance with the Egyptian sources, and does not seem strong in itself.

c) The obscure incident of Kushan Rishathaim in the period of the Judges provides us with our next biblical reference to Aram Naharaim (4). The Lord was aroused against Israel, **וַיִּמְכַרֵּם בְּיַד כּוֹשֵׁן רְשָׁעִתִים מֶלֶךְ אָרָם נָהָרִים** "and he delivered them into the hands of Kushan Rishathaim, king of Aram Naharaim". Here the LXX read: **Βασιλέως Συρίας ποταμῶν**. In v. 10 we read again **מֶלֶךְ אָרָם** which the LXX render also **Βασιλέα Συρίας ποταμῶν**.

Our previous discussion of these verses has already shown how fruitless are historical speculations in this matter in the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless, one will have noticed the new translation of Aram Naharaim in the LXX, which will be evaluated shortly.

d) Ps. 60:2 contains a clear allusion to David's wars with Syria: **בְּחִזּוֹתָה אֶת-אָרָם נָהָרִים וְאֶת-אָרָם צָבָה** "when he set fire (?) to Aram Naharaim and to Aram Zobah", where the LXX read:

(1) Gen. 24:10.

(2) Deut. 23:5.

(3) S. Schiffer, *die Aramäer*, p. 57, followed by E. Kraeling, *AI*, p. 21, "about as far south as Hamath".

(4) Jdg. 3:8; in v. 10 the Greek version quoted here is of B, whereas A omits ποταμῶν.

ὅποτε ἐνεπύρισεν τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν Συρίας καὶ τὴν Συρίαν Σωβα. In this same connexion it is fitting to cite the last pertinent allusion (¹), where Hanon, the Ammonite king, sent: **לְשָׁפֵר לְהָם מִן־אָרָם נְהָרִים וּמִן־אָרָם מַעֲכָה וּמִן־אָרָם רַכְבָּה וּפְרִשִּׁים** "to hire them chariots and horsemen out of Mesopotamia and out of Syria Maacah, and out of Zobah".

From our more detailed historical study of these events (see Chapter Six), and the association with the south Syrian states of Maacah, Zobah, etc., we think it most likely that Aram Naharaim in these texts refers approximately to the region southwest of the Euphrates, since only in the larger operations of Hadadezer were auxiliaries summoned "from beyond the river", a region which, of course, was otherwise also a part of Aram Naharaim.

The foregoing texts are of interest in that the Massoretic text consistently presents the dual form in the name Naharaim after the manner of many regional or place names such as Yerushalaim, Qarnaim, Qiryathaim, etc., and manifestly fixes attention on the two great rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates. This is reflected also in the Greek Μεσοποταμία of sections *a*, *b* and *d*; but in *c* we read twice Συρία ποταμῶν which plainly reflects the plural *n̄harim*, and it is this form, in all probability, which gave rise to the common opinion that such was the original form too. The meaning, therefore, of Naharaim would originally have been the "land of the rivers", or the "river land". Such a view, nevertheless, may now safely be rejected, since we know of dual forms in Amorite or early West-Semitic. W. F. Albright has called attention to 18th century place-names from the Mari region like *Qattunān*, "the two little" places, *Zurubān*, probably "the two cattle enclosures", and *Himarān*, "the two asses". A case very similar to our own is the Egyptian transcription *Tu-ta-y-na* for Hebrew *Dōtayim* and *Dotān* (²). Our form consequently goes back to an earlier **Naharaina*, which, passing into Canaanite and Hebrew, received the *Mém* ending, but retained its dual character, a singular instance where the traditional Massoretic vocalization is once again vindicated against the "corrective" influence of modern scholarship. We may add here that the *Nahrima* of the Amarna letters, where in the Accadian script the values of *ri* and *re* are interchangeable, is a natural development from the older dual, thus, Amorite **Naharaina* > Canaanite *Nahrēma*, since in Canaanite all diphthongs were contracted. S. Schiffer, following Ed. Meyer, would have admitted the vocalized form *Naharaim* only on the one condition that it represent not a dual, but a locative ending (³), but for postulating such a strange termination there is no grammatical justification whatever.

It was also noticed that in the Bible the name Naharaim was consistently associated with the word Aram. The latter term had various usages, among which was one equating it with all Upper Mesopotamia, the home of the Aramaeans. Later, for greater distinction of the respective Aramaean states (p. 127), it was made more specific by the addition of Zobah, Maacah, etc. It is into this context that Aram Naharaim properly fits. Nevertheless, even though the various Aramaean kingdoms in question represent more or less formed states, still the texts referring to

(¹) 1 Chr. 19:6.

(²) Cf. his review of Zellig Harris' *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* in *JAOS*, 60 (1940), p. 415.

(³) S. Schiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 56. Our own position renews an explanation of the dual form which was rejected, e. g., in the Gesenius-Kautzsch *Hebrew Grammar*,²⁸ § 88 c. Because of our evidence, furthermore, it is clear that we cannot accept the statement of J. Skinner in his *Genesis (The International Critical Commentary)*, Edinburgh (1910), p. 342, n. 10, "Since there is no trace of a dual in the Eg. or Can. forms, it is doubtful if the Heb. ending be anything but a Mass. caprice (rd. נְהָרִים ?), or a locative term, to be read -ām...."! A. Gardiner's view, *op. cit.*, p. 172 *, is similarly unacceptable.

Naharaim, if we prescind from the enigmatic passage in Jdgs. 3:8 ff., hardly warrant our attributing more than a regional, not a political, meaning to them. The same geographical connotation lies in the Greek Μεσοποταμία; the fact that Συρία is at times introduced by the LXX in translating Aram Naharaim, although never before the time of the Judges, may be said to reflect somewhat the origin and even the evolution of this same Συρία. That is to say, if, as Ungnad, following H. Winckler, suggests, the name *Syria* was formed from the name *Subria* (1) in the course of the first millennium B. C., it could easily have had a more extensive application at first, and then, in Grecian times, have become more restricted to the region west of the Euphrates as far as the Mediterranean and down towards Palestine, a development which is brought out by the Chronicler in the Septuagint translation, e. g., by the distinction between Συρία Μεσοποταμία, Συρία Μααχα, etc. Thus the Greek Συρία seems to show a somewhat parallel development to the Hebrew שָׂרֵךְ, not in origin and time, but in geographical application.

4. The Assyrian Inscriptions.

The quest for other occurrences of the word Naharaim in the ancient Semitic world proves vain. Without speaking of Babylonian inscriptions, the name is, strictly speaking, not to be found even once in the records of the Assyrian kings who nevertheless so repeatedly had occasion to traverse that country. The nearest phrase to it in any way is an isolated instance in an inscription of Shamshi-Adad I (1748-1716) (2), wherein we read: "samši-ⁱⁱ-adad šar kiššatim ba-ni bit ⁱⁱassur mu-ⁱⁱu-te-im-ki ma-tim bi-ri-it ⁱⁱniridiklat ⁱⁱpurātim ina ki-bi-it ⁱⁱaššur... (3) "Shamshi-Adad, the king of the world, the builder of the temple of Assur, the conqueror of (intercessor for?) the land between the Tigris and Euphrates, at the bidding of Assur...". That such language was not idle boasting was made clear above (p. 33) and the reference to Upper Mesopotamia seems apparent. The only reason, on the other hand, that the later Assyrian inscriptions in the time of Adad-nirari I (1304-1273) and especially from Tiglath-pileser (1114-1076) on, fail in such a geographical term would seem to be the fact that other convenient and perhaps more suitable political and ethnic terms were at hand. Thus the Assyrians conquered specifically the country of the Shubaru, Kummuh, Hanigalbat, Bit-Adini, etc. In any case, the very absence of such a term as *narēn in the language of the eastern Semites points to a conclusion which we may now include in the general summation of what we have learned from the sources.

(1) Cf. A. Ungnad, *Subartu*, p. 111 f., where he shows the possible philological development: *Subria* > **Surria* > *Suria*. For latest references to the land of Shupria, cf. I. Gelb, *HS*, p. 47 f.

(2) E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, Leipzig (1926), VIII, 1, p. 23; *KAH*, I, 2.

(3) The word *muštemki* is obscure; Meissner (*ibid.*, n. 3) admits the possible derivations of *mak/ku*, "nachlässig sein", or *šakú*, "hoch sein", or "tränken", but comes to no conclusion. Albright suggests a metathesis in a III, 2 form of *kamú*, "bind"; thus: *muštemki* < *muštekmi*, "who causes the land to be bound" i. e. conquers. Another possibility would be to consider the word as *mušlēm(i)ki*, a III, 2 form from *emēku* in the construct case; in the epic-hymnal style, such as our inscription here offers, the meaning of this form is often a passive-intransitive one and so may be translated "fervent pray-er" (i. e. agent). In our case "intercessor for the land" etc. This would suit the context well; cf. *mušlēmikum* in *CH*, II, 19 and IV, 65.

B) Summary.

Having examined the various sources wherein the phrase Naharaim or its equivalent is employed, what are we justified in concluding from our survey? It must be remembered that the same word or expression may have different meanings in the mouths of different persons, but even so, our study of the various contexts will have obviated, we trust, any unwarranted affirmations. It is possible to make our statement briefly, considering in order the time and place of origin, the linguistic form and finally the application of the phrase Naharaim.

Since the first occurrence of our term is recorded by Tuthmosis I (c. 1525; see A, 1 above) the name existed certainly in the early sixteenth century at least, as an established *terminus a quo*. How much earlier it existed before that is at present a matter of speculation. In the eighteenth century Shamshi-Adad I, though not using the very expression, actually did think of the country in terms of its two main rivers by name. In itself, it is perfectly possible that the phrase went back in its most original form to the middle or even to the beginning of the third millennium B. C. As a *terminus ad quem*, it prevailed in Egyptian sources down to the time of Ramesses III (1195-1164), and its last occurrence in the Bible is in the First Book of Chronicles which we date cir. 400 B. C. (1) Yet the events referred to here are of David's time and so we naturally ask why the phrase Naharaim is not found after this period. This is most reasonably accounted for by the fact that Damascus had assumed supreme control in northern Syria, constituting a deadly menace to Israel, though at times serving as a buffer between her and Assyria. In other words, the thoroughly political aspect of things was enough to establish state names as the proper terms for natural and ready reference. Also, since before Tuthmosis I the Egyptian name for the region northeast of Palestine is not very clear, but after his time became Naharin, a word of obvious Semitic origin, and since the eastern Semites did not use it at all, the term is obviously of Northwest-Semitic, i. e., of Amorite origin.

This conclusion is strengthened by considering the original dual form of the word, which was **Naharaina* > *Nah(a)rêna*, for in Amorite both the dual and the plural ended in *n*. The Amarna form *Nahrêma* as well as the Hebrew *Naharaim* reflected this dual (p. 141). The original consonants are best preserved in the earliest historical occurrences, the Egyptian *Naharin*; both the Hebrew and the Amarna forms changed *n* to *m* in accordance with Canaanite usage; finally the Amarna form changed *h* to *b*, according to the demands of its own script (p. 23, n. 2). Had either *m* or *b* represented original consonants, Egyptian could and would have reproduced them both, since it possessed both sounds. Our conclusions are therefore certain.

With regard to the application of our term, although it appears in a few instances to have received a political meaning both in Egyptian inscriptions and in the Bible, as noted above, still in the vast majority of cases, not only the use of Egyptian and Accadian determinatives, but the very contexts themselves make us see in it a geographical designation. How far this region extended is less easy to put into precise terms. Our three distinct sources agree in putting the heart of it in the region from the Khabur westward to a line drawn from Aleppo to Car-

(1) Cf. J. Goettsberger, *Die Bücher der Chronik oder Paralipomenon*, Bonn (1939), p. 4 f.; W. F. Albright, "The Date and Personality of the Chronicler", *JBL*, 40 (1921), pp. 104-119.

chemish. The Egyptian sources suggest an indefinite extension eastward and a southward extension definitely as far as Tunip, but neither they, nor the Bible, give certain indications that perhaps Kadesh on the Orontes (cf. 1, *d* and *f*; 3, *b*) might be included within its southwestern boundaries. Although further indices are not accorded us, it follows from the nature of the case that this region was contained on the south by the Syro-Arabian desert, due north by the Armenian mountains and to the northwest by the Taurus and Lebanon ranges.

Various localities and sites within these limits have received consideration in the course of our work. A more detailed study would constitute a special monograph on Mesopotamian topography that exceeds our purpose here. Concerning other points either of human value or of rich natural resources, though some interesting topics have been touched on in these texts, they have not added substantially to our knowledge. The chief advantage in this last chapter has been to complete our view of historical events by a study of the name given to the stage whereon they were enacted, to see where, when, and how it arose, and what was understood by it. It was anything but an arbitrary name, for it takes us back directly to our first remarks on geography. The whole land of Upper Mesopotamia was a natural unit, and, though often given no more than a passing glance by modern historians, it has long merited a more prolonged and intent gaze, such as we have tried to fix on it. As a result, much of the rich and colored picture that rewarded our interest was possible just because it was the "Land of the Two Rivers" (1).

(1) The writer regrets that only when the last pages were in final proof could he avail himself, and hence, sparingly, of Alan H. Gardiner's *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I and II (Text), III (Plates). Oxford (1947). In I, pp. 129*-191*, the distinguished Egyptologist makes a rich contribution to the subject of this chapter, diverging particularly from the views of W. Max Müller. Thus, Upper Retenu he understands to have been Syria north of Lebanon in Dyn. XVIII (p. 145*), although Retenu continued to signify both Palestine and Syria in the New Kingdom (p. 147*). The writer is strongly inclined to admit the cogent reasons advanced; however, Gardiner also concedes that Yeno'am appears to be placed in Upper Retenu (pp. 146*, 169*), and his explanation of Lower Retenu still lacks direct proof (p. 148*). — More important for our study is the author's conclusion regarding Naharin. In Dyn. XVIII, although surely geographical, it is identified with the Mitanni kingdom, but there is no evidence for its extension westward beyond the Euphrates (p. 180*). Here, too, strong arguments are presented. As regards evidence from the time of Ramesses II (apart from the location of a certain town "in the land of Kedy and in the territory of Naharin"), when Dapur also is clearly said to be in the land of Naharin, the author says "I frankly do not understand" (p. 180*). It would be strange, indeed, that within so short a time the concept should have undergone so radical a change, and, in fact, it does not yet seem proved that Amenemhab's fighting on the west of Aleppo in the New Kingdom (Breasted, *AR*, II, 582) was not in Naharin. Furthermore, if emphasis is laid upon the political identity of Naharin with Mitanni (see above p. 134, *k*; p. 136, *n*, 7), it is not without significance that in the days of Saushsatar (c. 1460), a contemporary of Tuthmosis III, Alalakh was subject to Mitanni (see above pp. 53, 81 f.). — The evidence Gardiner quotes on p. 190* of an envoy of Ascalon in a list of *ma.yannu* (*mryn*) is very interesting in connection with our study of Indo-Aryan names, especially since Widya (see p. 62, no. 78) was dynast of Ascalon. However, since Mitanni, to our knowledge, never dominated Ascalon, we realize that the presence of *maryannu* in Kadesh (see above p. 133, *g*) is no reason of itself for believing that Kadesh was in Naharin (= Mitanni).

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION

Perhaps the outstanding impression that the preceding pages have left with us is the richly variegated pattern that has been spun of the stuff of centuries in Upper Mesopotamia. As we pause in retrospect we realize that, although the various events of history in unbroken succession were born of those that went before, and then led on in turn to those that followed, still at definite periods they grouped themselves in such a way as to be all of a piece and to form distinct designs. Naharaim is composed of many of these designs, to discern and describe which has been the aim of this story. Some of them have been seen to stand out quite clearly and needed no more than brief comment on their respective characters; others were more subtly interwoven in the tapestry and, for want either of sufficient light on the subject or of perception in the observer, could only be guessed at and then abandoned for the time; still others were noted and traced down with somewhat more precision, perhaps, than had been done before. With such reflections in mind, one stands back to view the whole.

Naharaim, a name whose original form can well go back to the early third millennium B. C., was primarily the gate-way to the west from lower Mesopotamia, the channel through which we of the later western world have received the chief treasures of our cultural and, in particular, our religious heritage. The early impact of the Sumerians turns our eyes to one of the chief sources of this inheritance, which is still far from being exhausted. The translation and discussion of some six hundred unilingual literary texts, for example, dating from roughly 2000 B. C., which Samuel N. Kramer (¹) of the University of Pennsylvania Museum has undertaken, may have as great a value for the biblical scholar in elucidating by comparison and contrast the first chapters of Genesis as have the Ras Shamra tablets in portraying the Canaanite background of the Bible.

The period of Naram-Sin was indeed a time of great diffusion of Semitic culture, but perhaps the greatest period of its transmission to the west was between the twentieth and sixteenth centuries B. C., when a homogeneous pattern of culture prevailed, not only in the Babylon of Hammurabi, but also throughout the whole kingdom of Mari. This period is most important,

(¹) Cf. S. N. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology* (*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, XXI, 1944), Philadelphia, the first of an intended series of seven volumes on Sumerian culture; also his selected papers in *BASOR*, nos. 94 and 96, and most recently, "Enki and Ninhursag, a Sumerian 'Paradise' Myth", *BASOR*, Supplementary Studies N. 1 (1945). For detailed criticism of both works, see respectively T. Jacobsen, *JNES*, V (1946), pp. 128-152 and M. Witzel, *Orientalia*, 15 (1946), pp. 239-285.

since it is the first in which such diffusion of Sumero-Accadian culture can be checked in detail. This is reflected not only in the colorful traditions of the Patriarchal Age in the Bible, which could have come only from Upper Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium B. C., but also in the fact that the Hurrians are found shortly thereafter communicating to Syria and Palestine such typically Babylonian compositions as the Gilgamesh Epic, a hymn to Nikkal, etc. The same inference is drawn from the fact that in the late Bronze Age there prevailed in the west a scholastic tradition which, imposing Canaanite forms on the conserved classical Accadian of the Hammurabi period, produced, in the Amarna letters, a curio for linguists, but for the historian and biblical scholar a most valuable source. How important, therefore, for the proper understanding of the Hebrew documents is an intimate grasp of their more remote background in Sumerian literature, especially in its formal themes as taken over by the Accadians, developed in the hymnal-epic style, and carried across Naharaim to the west by successive waves of conquerors, merchants and wanderers! We are extremely fortunate, also, inasmuch as the spade has not only recovered these literary compositions and cultural objects, but has furthermore made directly possible the reconstruction of the chronological sequence into which they fit.

Although the Hammurabi Age was one of rich inheritance for the west, the two centuries that followed it constituted the "Dark Ages" of Mesopotamian history. From the events that followed after 1500 B. C. we know that the entire Euphrates country was overrun by new peoples, principally the Indo-Aryans and the Hurrians, during these "Dark Ages". The latter especially have within most recent times shown to the modern world that the obscure biblical Horites were really members of an old ethnic stock which swept down from the north in two distinct waves, first in the time of the Guti invasion and, second and most important, after 1700 B.C. With the Indo-Aryans, the Hurrians formed the main people of the Mitanni kingdom, a state whose internal structure in an ethnic, constitutional, and cultural sense provided one of the most interesting parts of our entire study, and was undoubtedly one of the features of Mesopotamian history that most needed, and still does need, further clarification, as in the case of the social status of the Indo-Aryans in Nuzu, for example. In any case, our scrutiny has rewarded us with the knowledge of a culture already quite crystallized, a picture that will grow in clarity as more Indo-Aryan names come to light, and that will impress its individuality upon the minds of historians even more when other cultural remains are unearthed to complement what we know thus far from glyptic and ceramic art alone. Since this is the period of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt, it is natural that there are no points of contact with biblical history here. However, a study of the political fortunes of the Mitanni kingdom, its varying success and final downfall when Egypt had abandoned it, together with the increasing power of the Hittites and their makeshift allies, the Amorites and the Khapiru, aids a great deal in depicting the historical setting in which the Israelites left Egypt and were able by force of arms to occupy the Promised Land. A further study of the Aramaean movement, so obscure in its origins, but more easily discernible in its growth and expansion, revealed a surprisingly rapid and thorough transformation of the whole character of Upper Mesopotamia from the complex Mitannian culture into the fairly uniform Aramaean culture. As we have seen, the young and vigorous Middle Assyrian empire, despite its many cruel and unrelenting efforts, could not do anything to prevent, nor even to change this. Rather it would seem that earlier Assyrian destruction of the North

Mesopotamian states, such as Hanigalbat and, earlier, in part, Mitanni, only paved the way for the Aramaean advance. It may be in any case observed that further study should still be devoted to investigating why the Hurrians, who were so widely and thickly settled in the Mitanni period, should, a fairly short time after, be so quickly and completely absorbed by the Semitic peoples about them. It may be due almost exclusively to their whole-hearted adoption, save in Hanigalbat and later Shupria, of the Aramaean tongue.

With regard to the Aramaeans, we must thank their crude provincial art for supplying *in germeine* the monumental relief art which flowered in the Late Assyrian empire. In the west it was their ever expanding and growing settlements which portray for the biblical scholar the main antagonist to David in the moving drama of young Israel's rise to glory, thus filling in many details for the story of Holy Writ itself. As the Aramaeans, then, started to prevail in the time of the Divided Kingdoms, only to fall in turn with Israel before the Assyrian conqueror, it still remained true that Upper Mesopotamia was the land of passage from east to west.

As has been pointed out, the enfolding sweep of the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, was in largest measure responsible for the course of history of Naharaim. They alone were enough to give a name to the country which was applied to it for more than five centuries, from the 16th to the 10th centuries B. C., by different peoples. They alone were enough to attract in the course of long years both mountain hordes from the north and desert nomads from the south to possess the fertile plains they watered, and so they were accountable to a great degree for the manifold cultures that came into being there. And yet, a glance at the whole course of our history is sufficient to ascertain that only twice did there emerge political powers of truly considerable proportions which were centered in Upper Mesopotamia, namely, the Mari and Mitanni kingdoms. It is not a matter of idle speculation, therefore, to suggest that the course of history might have been different, even greatly so, had there not been the rich treasures of wood and oil, of metal and livestock, in the westlands. These from the very time at which our story begins had lured on eastern rulers to the spoil. And so, if Upper Mesopotamia was a natural geographical unit and presented a most colorful variety of peoples and cultures, both in fusion and sequence, precisely because of the Tigris and Euphrates, as suggested, it is just as true to say that these many contributing factors were only rarely formed into powerful political entities precisely because of the riches of the regions to the west of them. We do well indeed to call Upper Mesopotamia the Fertile Crescent, but too often it was for the conquerors from Babylon and Assur the crescent of a rainbow at whose end they had visions of a pot of gold. From the time of Sargon of Accad (c. 2340) down to Nebukadrezzar II (605-562 B. C.), there was a constant urge towards the west, and as often and as long as this urge was fulfilled, no independent state could exist in Naharaim.

And yet, the fact that this region was so characteristically a corridor to the west is one of the strongest arguments for devoting greater study to it in the future, for we of the Occident are thus shown the path we must follow if we would trace back to its source the main deposit of our heritage. Man is no less hungry to know his origins today than at any time before. The student of the Bible, in particular, wants every particle of knowledge, historical, linguistic, archaeological, that will aid him in understanding more adequately its divine message. Naharaim — the Land of the Two Rivers — will not give him all this, but it is the path that will lead him to it. This path is still dim and dark but the shadows are gradually lifting.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

On p. 10, col. 5, read: Shamshi Adad II, c. 1552-1547 and Puzur-Assur III, c. 1488-1475; — on p. 21, n. 4 read: *buntum*; — on p. 25, n. 3 read: cf. Charles-F. Jean, *RA*, 35 (1938), pp. 107 ff.; — on p. 43, l. 2 read: *Lugal-anni-mundu*.

On p. 34 one should add the notice of the very recent discoveries of three new law codes. All are known through preliminary announcements. The first belongs to the reign of Dadusha, governor of Eshnunna, and it is assigned to some forty years before the promulgation of the Code (cir. 1690 B. C.) of Hammurabi. It is composed in Accadian in the Old Babylonian script, and is preserved only in part on the lower half of an originally large tablet, being one of the 544 tablets unearthed by the Iraqi Department of Antiquities excavation at Tell Harmal. Tentatively, it is analysed as dealing with laws governing theft, the family, adoption, real property, slaves, etc. Cf. Taha Baqir, *Sumer*, IV (1948), pp. 52 f.

The second new law code is of Lipit-Ishtar, king of Isin. It is composed in Sumerian, and was discovered by Francis R. Steele, as reported in his article, "The Lipit-Ishtar Law Code", *AJA*, LI (1947), pp. 158-164. Lipit-Ishtar flourished some 175 years before Hammurabi, hence, about 85 years after the fall of Ur III, which had represented a period of Sumerian revival (see above p. 16). This new code, preserved in fragments, was apparently smaller in content than the Code of Hammurabi, but seems to have fewer differences from, than resemblances to, it and so this new code, or its analogues, undoubtedly served as a pattern for the great law giver of Babylon.

The third new law code is again from Tell Harmal, having to do with the laws of the kingdom of Eshnunna. It was promulgated by king Bilalama or by his son, and hence it is older by about two generations than the new code of Lipit-Ishtar of Isin. It is composed in Accadian, on a tablet which is practically complete, containing four columns of text. Cf. Albrecht Goetze, *Sumer*, IV (1948), p. 59.

On pp. 55, 98, and 100 the Hittite king named Arnuwandas (1230-1215) is the same person referred to, namely, the successor of Tudkhalias IV, in all three cases. Which king Arnuwandas he was seems hard to determine. That he should be called Arnuwandas II (the reference on p. 55, as it will appear, can in any view of the problem hardly be defended, and so should be corrected) does not seem certainly established. In 1928, A. Goetze (*RLA*, I, p. 152) had listed this name four times but would not conclude to the existence of four distinct kings thus called. The first occurrence textually (cf. E. Forrer, 2 BoTU, no. 18; 2 BoTU, no. 24, II, l. 19; KUB, XI, no. 8 [9]) is not solidly established, and the second (cf. Forrer, 2 BoTU, no. 17) Goetze registered while affirming he was not in a position to check the reference. Later, in 1933, treating clearly of our same Arnuwandas ("Kleinasiens", *KAO*, p. 79), he called him simply Arnuwandas without further specification. Then, in 1936, he (*HCA*, p. 58) referred to him as Arnuwandas II. In this he was followed by the present author. Helmuth Th. Bossert (*Alt-anatolien*, Berlin, 1942, p. 48, inset) regards our king, however, as Arnuwandas III, and refers to Goetze's article in *RLA*. Hans G. Güterbock, in a detailed discussion against E. Cavaignac (*Siegel aus Boğazköy*, *AfO*, Beiheft 5, 1940, pp. 31-38), also considers our king to be Arnuwandas III, admitting, nevertheless (*ibid.*, p. 37), that stringent proof is not had on either side of the whole discussion. In his review of Güterbock's work, J. Friedrich (*AfO*, 13, 1939-1941, pp. 325-329) has not touched on the problem.

A P P E N D I X

INDO-ARYAN NAMES FROM MITANNI, NUZU AND SYRO-PALESTINIAN DOCUMENTS

by

P.-E. DUMONT

I. THE NAMES.

A. Mitanni:

1. . . dīrta (-d-i-r-t/d-a)
= (?) Ind. *-dhṛta* "supported by".
2. Artasumara (a-r-t/d-ā-s/ś/s/ś]-ū/o-m-a-r-a)
= (?) Ind. **ṛta-smara* "mindful of the divine Law".
3. Artadāma (a-r-t/d-ā-t/d-ā-m-a)
= (?) Ind. *ṛta-dhāman* (nomin. *ta-dhāmā*)
"whose abode is the divine Law, abiding in the divine Law".
4. Matiwāza (m-a-t/d[t,d]-i-w-ā-z/dz ts-a)
= (?) Ind. **mati-vāja* "whose victorious power or wealth is prayer". Cf. *mati-dhvaja* "whose banner is prayer" (name of a man).
5. Parśasatar (p/b-a-r-8/ś-a-ś/s-a-t d-a-r)
= (?) Ind. *prāśāstar* "the ruler, the dictator"; or (b)
(?) Ind. **para-śāstar* "the chastiser of the enemies".
6. Sauśsatar (s/ś-ā-u-ś/s-ś/ś-ā-t-a-r)
= (?) Ind. **saukṣatra* "the son of Sukṣatra" [*sukṣatra* "ruling well"].
7. Satuara (s/ś-ā-t/d[t,d]-u-ā-r-a)
= Ind. *sa-teara* "swift".
8. Śūradarna or Śūratarna (ś-u-ā/o-r-a-t/d[t,d]-a-r-n-a)
= (?) Ind. **śūra-dharana* "supporting the heroes"; or (b)
- (?) Ind. **śūra-tāraṇa* "helping the heroes".
9. Sudarna or Sutarna (s/ś-ā/u/o-t/d[t,d]-a-r-n-a)
= (?) Ind. **su-dharana* "supporting well"; or (b)
(?) Ind. **su-tāraṇa* "helping well".
10. Sutadara or Sutatara (s/ś-u/o-t/d-a-t/d-a-r [r]-a)
= (?) Ind. **suta-dhāra* "supporting his sons"; or (b)
(?) Ind. **suta-tāra* "the protector of his sons"; or (c)
(?) Ind. **sūta-dhāra* "supporting the charioteers"; or (d)
(?) Ind. **sūta-tāra* "the protector of the charioteers".
11. Tuiśrata (t/d-u-[i]-s/ś-r-a-t/d[t,d]-a)
= (?) Ind. **tviś-ratha* "having the chariot of terror or splendour" [final s of root preserved before r; cf. Whitney, 181 a]; or (b)
(?) Ind. **tviśi-ratha* "having the chariot of terror or splendour"; or (c)
(?) Ind. *tveśa-ratha* "having rushing or terrible or splendid chariots" (cf. R. V. 5. 61. 13).
12. Wāsasatta or Waśasatta (w-ā-ś/s-a-s/ś-a-t/d[t,d]-a)
= (?) Ind. **vāsa-sāpta* "possessing a heptad of dwellings"; or (b)
(?) Ind. **vāsa-sāpta* "possessing a heptad of powers".

B. Nuzu:

13. Aitara ($\ddot{a}-\ddot{t}-t/d[t/d]-\ddot{a}-r-a$)
 = Ind. *aitara* "the son of Itarā". Cf. *aitareya*. According to Sāyaṇa, *aitareya* means "the son of Itarā". — Aitara is attested; cf. *Pāṇini* 4. 2. 75, *gāṇapāṭha* 236.

14. Ambizina ($a-m-b/p-i-z/dz/t8-i/e-n-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **ambi-jina* "victorious by his mother"; or (b)
 (?) Ind. **ambi-jinva* "helping, refreshing his mother"; or (c)
 (?) Ind. **abhi-jina* = *abhijit* "victorious".

15. Artamna ($a-r-t/d-a-m-n-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **ṛta-mna* "devoted to the divine Law, observing the divine Law".

16. Attasāma or Attaśāma ($a-t/d[t/d]-a-ś/s-ś/s-ā-m-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **āpta-sāman* "having gained wealth"; or (b)
 (?) Ind. **āpta-kṣāman* "having obtained the earth".

17. Auasśūra ($a-u-a-s/s[s/ś]-\ddot{u}-r-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **avaś-śūra* "the hero of help".

18. Audurta ($a-u-t/d-u/o-r-d/t-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **audṛta* "the son of Uṛṭa"
 [uṛṭa "risen, exalted, prosperous or noble"] (?)

19. Aśuzana or Asuzana ($a-s/s[s/ś]-u/o-z/dz/t8-ā-n-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **āśu-jana* "whose men are swift"; or (b)
 (?) Ind. **asu-jana* "generating life".

20. Bardaśwa ($p/b-a-r-t/d-a-ś s-u/r-a$)
 = Ind. *vārddhāśva* "the son of Vṛddhāśva" [*vṛddhāśva "having great horses"].

21. Bedarta ($p/b-e-t/d-a-r-d/t-a$)
 = (?) Ind. *vedārtha* (*veda* + *artha*) "whose goal is the sacred lore"; or (b)
 (?) Ind. **vedarta* (*veda* + *ṛta*) "whose truth is the sacred lore", "for whom the divine Law is the Veda".

22. Bedaśūra ($p/b-e-t/d-a-s/s[s/ś]-\ddot{u}-r-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **veda-śūra* "the hero of the sacred lore".

23. Biryā ($p/b-i-r-y-a$)
 = (?) Ind. *vīrya* "valour, heroism".

24. Biryāśūra ($p/b-i-r-y-a-s/s[s/ś]-\ddot{u}-r-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **vīrya-śūra* "the hero of valour".

25. Biryatti ($p/b-i-r-y-a-t/d[t/d]-i$)
 = (?) Ind. **vīryāpti* "the attainment of valour"; or (b)
 (?) Ind. **vīryāpta* "having attained valour".

26. Birazana ($p/b-i-r-a-z/dz/t8-ā-n-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **vīra-jana* "whose men are heroes".

27. Kalmaśūra ($k/g-a-l-m-a-s/s[s/ś]-\ddot{u}-r-a$)
 = (?) Ind. *karma-śūra* "the hero of action".
 [N. B.: r = l: common Hurrian dissimilation of liquids.]

28. Namazzani or Namazani ($n-a-m-a-z/dz/t8[z/dz/t8]-\ddot{a}-n-i$)
 = (?) Ind. **namo-jani* (*namas* + *jani*) "the source of veneration"; or (b)
 (?) Ind. **namya-jani* "of venerable birth".

29. Puruśa ($p/b-u/o-r-u/o-ś/s-a$)
 = (?) Ind. *Puruṣa* "man"; or (b)
 (?) Ind. **Puru-śā* "winning or conquering much" (cf. R. V. *uru-śā*, *go-śā*, *āśra-śā*, *śata-śā*, *sahasra-śā*).

30. Śaimaśūra ($s/s-ā-i-m-ā-s/s[s/ś]-\ddot{u}/o-r-a$)
 = (?) Ind. *kṣema-śūra* "the hero of peace or security".

31. Sattawaza ($s/s-a-t/d[t/d]-a-r-a-z/dz/t8[z/dz/t8]-a$)
 = (?) Ind. **sapta-vāja* "who has seven spoils", "who has won seven prizes (at the horse races)"; or (b)
 (?) Ind. **sāpta-vāja* "who has won the prizes at the horse races".

32. Sauśattī ($s/s-a-u-s/s-a-t/d[t/d]-i$)
 = Ind. **sausapti* "the son of Suṣapti"
 [*su-ṣapti = having beautiful horses: *sapti* = racer, horse; cf. R. V. *sraśra* = *su* + *āśra*) "having excellent horses"].

33. Sumāla ($s/s-u/o-m-ā-l-a$)
 = (?) Ind. *su-māla* "having a beautiful wreath" [name of a people in the M. Bh.].

34. **Sumātra** (*s/ś-u/o-m-ā-t-r-a*)
= (?) Ind. *su-mātar* "having a good mother".

35. **Tuwṣmāna** (*t/d-u-m/w-s/ś-[i]-m-ā-n-a*)
= (?) Ind. **tuvīṣ-manas* "of strong mind".

36. **Udazina** or **Utazina** (*u-t/d[t/d]-a-z/dz/t/s-ī-n-a*)
= (?) Ind. *ud-ajina* "he who has passed beyond the use of a skin (as his covering)" (*Pāṇ.* 6.2.181); or (b)
= (?) Ind. **ūta-jina* "protected and victorious".

37. **Warasama** or **Warasāma** (*w-a-r-a-s/ś-ā-m-a*)
= (?) Ind. **vara-sama* "equal to the best"; or (b)
= (?) Ind. **vara-sāman* "having excellent acquisition or wealth".

38. **Warautu** (*w-a-r-a-u-t/d-u/o*)
= (?) Ind. **varoti* (*vara* + *ūti*) "whose help is excellent".

39. **Wazi** (*w-a-z/dz/t[s/z/dz/t]-i*)
= (?) Ind. *vājīn* (nomin. *vājī*) "victorious".

C. Syrian and Palestinian:

40. **Abirata** or **Abiradda** (*a-p/b-i-r-a-t/d[t/d]-a*)
= (?) Ind. *abhirata* "pleased, contented"; or (b)
= (?) Ind. *abhirāddha* "propitiated".

41. **Aitagama** or **Aidakāma** (*a-i-t/d[t/d]-ā-k/g [k/g]-ā-m-a*).
= (?) Ind. **eta-gama* "running like an antelope", "having the gait of an antelope"; or (b)
= (?) Ind. **edhāk-kāma* "desiring prosperity".

42. **Andāya** (*a-n-d/t-ā-y-a*)
= (?) [Cf. Ind. *andha* "blind"].

43. **Ariwana** (*a-r-i-w-a-n-a*)
= (?) Ind. **ari-vana* "wishing for enemies", "conquering the enemies", or "having a forest of enemies".

44. **Artamanya** (*a-r-t/d-a-m-a-n-y-a*)
= (?) Ind. **rta-manya* "thinking of the divine Law", "remembering, revering the divine Law". Cf. *K. V.* *punar-manya*.

45. **Artaya** (*a-r-t-a-y-a*)
= (?) Ind. *r̥tayant* (nomin. *r̥tayan*) "observing the sacred Law"; or (b)
= (?) Ind. *r̥tayu* "observing the sacred Law".

46. **Arzawiya** (*a-r-z/dz/t[s/ś]-ā-w-ī-y-a*)
= (?) Ind. **ārjavīya* "straight, honest". Cf. Ind. *ārjava* "straight, honest".

47. **Arzaya** (*a-r-z/dz/t[s/ś]-ā-y-a*)
= (?) Ind. **ari-jaya* "conquering enemies".

48. **Bāyawa** (*p/b-ā-y-ā-w-a*)
= (?) *vāyava* "given by Vāyu (the god of wind)", "son of Vāyu (the god of wind)".

49. **Birasēna** (*p/b-i-r-ā-s/[s/ś]-ē-n-a*)
= Ind. *vīra-sena* "possessing an army of heroes". [name of a king in the *M. Bh.*].

50. **Biryasauma** (*p/b-i-r-y-ā-ś/s-a-u-m-a*)
= Ind. **vīrya-soma* "the moon god of valour" (cf. the name: *vīrya-candra*); our "he who drinks the soma (the liquor) that gives valour".

51. **Biryawāza** (*p/b-i-r-y-ā-w-ā-z/dz/t[s-a*)
= Ind. **vīrya-vāja* "he who owns the prize or booty of valour".

52. **Biridiya** (*p/b-ī-r-ī-d/t-ī-y-a*)
= (?) Ind. **vṛdhīya* "increaser, causing welfare" (cf. *īśo-vṛdhīya* "increasing vitality").

53. **Biridāśwa** (*p/b-ī-r-ī-d/t-ā-s/ś-īr-a*)
= Ind. **vṛddhāśva* (*vṛddha* + *āśva*) "possessing great horses" (cf. *bṛhad-āśva* "possessing great horses").

54. **Dāsarti** (*d/t-ā-s/ś-a-r-t-ī*) [possibly of Egyptian origin].
= (?) Ind. **dāsarti* (*dāsa* + *ṛti*) "the pain of the barbarians, the enemy of the barbarians".

55. **Dewatti** (*t/d-e-[u]w-ā-t/d[t/d]-i*)
= (?) Ind. *devatta* "god-given" (*K. V.*)

56. **Indarota** (*e/i-n-d/t-a-r-u/o-t/d-a*)
= Ind. *indrota* (*indra* + *ūta*) "upheld by Indra". Cf. *K. V.* 8.57.15 and *Sat. Br.* 13.5.3.5.

57. **Yamibanda** (*y-ā-m-i-b/p-ā-n-d/t-a*)
= (?) Ind. **yami-bandha* "connected with Yamin, bound with Yamin" [Yamin

“the restraining, controlling, ruling (god)"] [*Yami* = Yamin in composition]; or (b)

(?) Ind. **yami-bandhu* “the kinsman of Yamin” (cf. *vasu-bandhu* and *deva-bandhu*); or (c)

(?) Ind. **yami-vanda* “praising Yamin” (cf. *deva-vanda*).

58. **Yamiuta** (*y-ā-m-i-u/o-t/d-a*)
= Ind. **yamyūta* (*yami* + *ūta*) “upheld, favoured, protected by Yamin”.

59. **Yaśdāta** or **Wasdāta** (*w/y-a-s/ś-d, t-ā-t/d-a*)
= (?) Ind. **vasu-dāta* or *vasu-datta* “given by the gods (the good ones)”; or (b)
(??) Avest. *yaza-dāta* “given by the Sacrifice” [Cf. Ind. *yajña-datta* “given by the Sacrifice”].

60. **Mayarzana** or **Mayarzāna** (*m-a-y-a-r-z/dz/ts-ā-n-a*)
= (?) Ind. **māyārjana* (*māyā* + *arjana*) “acquiring or procuring supernatural power”.

61. **Patuzana** (*p/b-a-t/d-ū/o-z/dz/ts-ā-n-a*)
= (?) Ind. *Paṭu-jana* “the clever, cunning man” or “he whose men are clever, cunning”.

62. **Purdāya** (*p/b-u/o-r-d/t-ā-y-a*)
= (?) Ind. **pūr-dhāya* “possessing fortresses” or “founder of fortresses”; or (b)
(?) Ind. **puru-dāya* “giving much”. [Cf. *śata-dāya* “giving a hundred”].

63. **Ručmanya** or **Rusmanya** (*r-u/o-s/č/z/dz/ts-ā-n-y-a*)
= (?) Ind. **ruci-manya* “revering light”; or (b)
(?) Ind. **rug-manya* (*ruc* + *manya*) “revering light”; or (c)
(?) Ind. **rus-manyu* “full of the spirit or fury of wrath”.

64. **Subandu** (*s/ś-u/o-p/b-a-n-d/t-u/o*)
Ind. *subandhu* “having good relatives or good kinsmen”.

65. **Sumīda** or **Sumitta** (*s/ś-u/o-m-ī-t/d[t/d]-a*)
= (?) Ind. *sumīdha* “bountiful, liberal” [*sumīdha* is the name of a man in the R. V.]; or (b)
(?) Ind. *sumitra* “having good friends”.

66. **Šunaśūra** (*s/ś-u-n-ā-s/ś[ś/ś]-ū-r-a*)
= (?) Ind. **śuna-śūra* “the hero of prosperity”.

67. **Sudarna** or **Sutarna** (*s/ś-u/o-t/d-a-r-n-a*)
= (?) Ind. **su-dharana* “supporting well”; or (b)
(?) Ind. **su-tāraṇa* “helping well”.

68. **Sutadara** or **Sutatara** (*s/ś-u/o-t/d-a-t/d-a-r[r]-a*)
= See above no. 10.

69. **Sutatna** or **Sūtatna** (*s/ś[z]-u o-t/d-a-t d-n-a*)
= (?) Ind. **suta-tana* “to whom an offspring has been born”; or (b)
(?) Ind. **sūta-tana* “the son of a charioteer”.

70. **Swardāta** (*ś/s-u/w-a-r-d/t-ā-t/d-a*)
= Ind. **svar-dāta* “given by heaven”.

71. **Swatiti** or **Swaditi** (*s ś-[u]w-ā-t/d-ī-t/d-i*)
= (?) Ind. **svatithi* “having good guests”; or (b)
(?) Ind. *svadhitī* “the axe, the heavenly axe, the thunderbolt” R. V.).

72. **Tsirtamyaśta** (*z/dz/ts-i-r-d/t-ā-m-y-a-s/ś-t-d-a*)
= (?) Ind. **citrām-yastā* (nomin. *citrām-yastā*) “making brilliant offering”.

73. **Tsitrīyara** (*z/dz/ts-i-t/d-r-ī-y-ā-r-a*)
= (?) Ind. **citrāy-rai* (nomin. *citrāy-raīs*) “having brilliant property”. Cf. R. V. *bhrad-rayi*; cf. R. V. 10. 111. 7: *citrām rām*.

74. **Uruditi** (*u/o-r-u/o-t/d-ī-t/d[t/d]-i*)
= (?) Ind. **uruditi* “having wide splendour”.

75. **Uwakazaniya** (*u/o-w-a-g/k-ā-z/dz/tz[z/dz ts]-ā-n-ī-y-a*)
= (??) Ind. **vāka-janya* “born of the sacred word”, “child of the holy formula” (?).

76. **Uwanti** (*u/o-w-ā-n-t-i*)
= (??) Ind. *vandin* (nomin. *vandī*) “the bard”.

77. **Wāmpadura** (*ū-a-a¹m-b¹a-du-ra*; *w-a-m-b/p-a-d/t-u/o-r-a*)
= (??) **vāma-pāṇḍura* “fair and pale”. “pale and yet handsome”.

78. **Widya** (*v-i-d̥ t̥-y-a*)
= (?) Ind. **vidya* "strong" [cf. *vīdayati*
"to make strong" (R. V.)].

79. **Zurāśar** (*z/dz/ts-u/o-r-ā-s/ś-a-r*)
= (?) Ind. *surāṣṭra* "having good dominion".

80. **Zurata** (*z/dz/ts-u/o-r-ā-t-a*)
= (?) Ind. *suratha* "having a good chariot".

II. REMARKS.

1. Many of the proposed etymologies are hypothetical, but some of them seem absolutely certain, e. g. **Swardāta** (= *Svardāta*), **Subandu** (= *Subandhu*), **Satuara** (= *Satvara*), **Indarota** (= *Indra-ūta*), **Birasēna** (= *Virasena*), **Urudīti**, **Biridaśwa** (= *Vṛddhāśva*), **Bardaśwa** (= *Vārddhāśva*), **Bāyawa** (= *Vāyava*), **Biryāśūra** (= *Viryaśūra*), **Biryawāza** (= *Viryavāja*).

2. The names of the list belong to a language that seems to be much more similar to Old Indic than to Old Iranian. For instance: a) initial *s* is maintained and not represented by *h*; b) Indic *śv* is represented by *św* and not by *sp* as in Avestan *aspō* = (Sk.) *asva*. On the other hand, however, Indic *j* is represented by *z* as in Avestan, and Indic initial *r* is represented by *ar* as in Avestan *arštiš* = (Sk.) *r̥ṣṭiḥ*; both of these equivalences, however, are almost certainly graphic.

3. Most of the names of the list are characteristic *Bahuṛihi* or *Tatpuruṣa* compounds.

4. There is good evidence that, in the Old Indic or Indo-Aryan language to which the names belong, already at the time of the documents, initial *v* (that is represented by *b*) was pronounced like *v* (German *v*), while medial *v* kept its value of a semivowel, and was pronounced like *w* (English *w*).

5. It seems that in that language, just as in Middle Indic (i. e. the *Prākrit* languages), the group *pt* had become *tt*.

6. It seems that in that language, just as in Sanskrit, there were already the characteristic patronymic names with the *vrddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable of the primitive word, e. g.: **Sauśatti** (= *Sauṣapti* "the son of *Susapti*"); **Aitara** "the son of *Itarā*"; **Bardaśwa** (= *Vārddhāśva* "the son of *Vṛddhāśva*"); **Saumati** (= *Saumati* "the offspring of *Sumati*"). (Cf. *JAOS*, 67, 1947, p. 251).

7. There is strong evidence that the people who spoke that language worshipped *Indra*, *Vāyu* (the god of wind), *Svar* (heaven), *Soma*, the *Devas* (the gods, the shining ones), and *Kta* (the divine Law). Evidence for deities such as the *Vasus* and *Yamin* is much weaker.

8. It seems that the people who spoke that language were especially interested in horses and horse-races. Cf. **Biridaśwa** "possessing great horses"; **Bardaśwa** "the son of *Biridaśwa*"; **Sattawaza** "he who has won seven prizes (at the horse races)" or "he who has won the prizes at the horse races". This agrees with the evidence of the Boghazköy documents and the *Veda*.

III. PHONETIC CONCORDANCE.

How the Indic sounds are represented in the Mitanni, Nuzu, and Syro-Palestinian documents.

A. Vowels and Diphthongs.

Indic *a* is represented by *ā*.

a is elided in 8, 11 c, 67, 69, 77.

a is inserted in 5, 56.

Indic *ā* is represented by *ā*.

i is represented by *ī*.

i is elided in 11 b, 47, 63 a.

ī is represented by *ī*.

Indic *u* is represented by *ă/ă*.

u is elided in 59 a, 62 b.

u is inserted in 2.

ă is represented by *ă/ă* in 8, 17, 22, 24, 29, 30, 58, 68 c, d, 69 b.

r (initially) is represented by *ar* in 2, 3, 15, 44, 45.

r (medially) is represented by *ir* in 1; by *ur* in 18; by *iri* in 52, 53.

e is represented by *ĕ* in 21, 22, 49, 55.

e is represented by *ai* in 30, 41.

ai is represented by *ai* in 13.

o is represented by *ă/ă* in 56.

o is represented by *au* in 38, 50.

au is represented by *au* in 6, 32.

B. Mutes.

Indic *k* is represented by *k/g* in 27, 41 b, 75.

g is represented by *k/g* in 41 a.

c is represented by *z/dz/ts* in 72, 73.

c is represented by *s/č/z, dz/ts* in 63 a.

j is represented by *z'dz/ts* or *z/dz/ts* [*z/dz/ts*] in 4, 14, 19, 26, 28, 31, 36, 39, 46, 47, 51, 60, 61, 75.

t is represented by *t/d* or *d/t* in 72 (Canaanite scribe).

d is represented by *d/t/t* in 77, 78.

dh is represented by *tt/dd* in 65.

n is represented by *n* in 8, 9, 67.

t is represented by *t* or *tt*.

th is represented by *tt/dd* in 11.

th is represented by *t/d* in 21 a, 71, 80.

d is represented by *d/t* in 21, 22, 54, 56, 57 c, 59, 62 b, 70.

d is represented by *t d* in 55, 74.

dh is represented by *d* or *d/t* in 1, 52, 57 a, 57 b, 64.

dh is represented by *t* or *t/d* in 3, 8 a, 9 a, 10 a, 67 a, 68 a, 68 c, 71 b.

ddh is represented by *t/d* [*t d*] in 40 b.

ddh is represented by *d t* in 53 (Canaanite scribe).

Indic *n* is represented by *n* in 14 a, 14 b, 15, 19, 26, 28, 36, 43, 44, 49, 57, 60, 61, 64, 69.

p is represented by *p/b* in 5, 29, 62, 77.

b is represented by *p b* in 14, 57, 64.

bh is represented by *p/b* in 40.

m is represented by *m* in 4, 15, 16, 27, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 41, 44, 57, 58, 60, 63, 65, 72, 77.

C. Semivowels.

Indic *y* is represented by *y* in 23, 24, 25, 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 58, 60, 62, 63, 72, 78.

y is represented by *iy* in 73, 75.

r is represented by *r* in 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 34, 37, 38, 40, 43, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 54, 56, 62, 63, 67, 68, 70, 73, 74, 77, 79, 80.

r is represented by *l* in front of *m* in 27.

r (initially) is represented by *p/b* in 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.

r (initially) is represented by *w* in 12, 37, 38, 39, 59 a, 77, 78.

r (initially) is represented by *u o-w* in 75, 76.

r (medially) is represented by *w* in 4, 31, 35, 43, 46, 48, 51, 53.

r (medially) is represented by *u* in 7, 11.

r (medially) is represented by *u/w* in 20, 55, 70, 71.

D. Sibilants.

Indic *s* is represented by *s* in 8.

s is represented by *s/s* in 5, 53, 66.

s is represented by *s ſ* [*s ſ*] in 17, 19, 22, 24, 66.

s is represented by *s/s* in 20.

s is represented by *s/s* in 11, 29, 35.

15,

61,

77.

27,

63,

10,

27,

50,

77,

27.

20,

51,

12,

in

31,

11.

20,

22,

Indic *ʂ* is represented by *s/ʂ-ʂ/s* in 32.
s is represented by *s/ʂ* in 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, 31, 33, 34, 37, 54, 59, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 71.
s is represented by *s/ʂ [ʂ/ʂ]* in 2, 49.
s is represented by *ʂ/s* in 5, 32, 50, 70.
s is represented by *ʂ/s [ʂ/s]* in 16.
s is represented by *z/dz/ts* in 79, 80.

E. Groups of consonants.

Indic *kʂ* is represented by *ʂ/s-ʂ/s* in 6.
kʂ is represented by *ʂ/s-ʂ/s* in 16 b.
kʂ is represented by *s/ʂ* in 30.

Indic *pt* is represented by *t/d - t/d* in 12, 16, 25, 31, 32.
as+ja is represented by *azza* in 28.

F. Examples of apparent metathesis. (of probably graphic origin).

Indic *pra* is represented by *par* in 5 a.
tra is represented by *tar* in 6.
tar is represented by *tra* in 34.
ʂtra is represented by *s/ʂar* in 79.

G. Real consonantal metathesis.

Indic *itra* is represented by *irta* in 72.

I N D I C E S

1. G E N E R A L

Following quite common usage, words beginning with *k*, and *h* (when not transcribed as *kh*), are classed under *k*; those beginning with *s* (also found as *sh*) under *s*. The consonants ' and ' are disregarded in the ordering of words. Sumerian words, if not specifically indicated, are recognized from the spacing of their letters. Place names such as Braq will be found under Tell Braq, etc.

If different individuals with the same Indo-Aryan name are distinguished, the references before such indications have to do only with linguistic treatment of the name as such.

Small exponential numbers refer to notes.

The following abbreviations are used:

Acc.	Accadian	Eg.	Egyptian	k.	king or ruler	r.	river
anc	ancient	Gr.	Greek	l.	land or country	var.	variant
c.	city or town	Hb.	Hebrew	mt(s).	mountain(s)	Sum.	Sumerian
d.	deity	Ind.	Indic	p.	person(al name)		

a b, a k, u k, 14²
 Abdashirta, p., 87
 Abel, c., 125
 Abieshuh, p., 11, 35
 Abil, l., 27
 Abimelech, p., 123
 Abi-milki, k., 87
 Abina, p., 132
 Abirata, p., 59, 151
 Abisalamu, p., 103
 Abishay, p., 128
 Abraham, p., 29 f., 140; — date
 of, 31
 Abydos, c., 66
 Accad, l., 15, 34; — Dynasty of,
 10, 14-18, 47; figs. 6 and 7
 Accadian, 3, 13, 16, 23², 36,
 38, 52 f., 113⁴, 138, 146, 148
 Aecho, c., 62 f., 87, 100
 Adab, c., 14, 43
 Adad (var. Hadad), d., 19, 28
 Adad-apal-iddin I, k., 98, 101,
 109

Adad-milki, p., 19, 128²
 Adad-nirari, k., —I, 3, 81, 98,
 100 f., 103, 106, 142; —II, 48,
 102, 105, 110; —III, 103
 Adad-shum-nasir, k., 98
 a d d a, 21
 adoption, 30, 68, 148
 'Afrin, r., 6
 Agni, d., 63
 Agum II, k., 10, 81
 Ai, c., 74
 Aia, d., 28
 Aitagama, k., 59, 64, 85, 87,
 97, 150
 Aitara, p., 57, 150, 152
 Ake, p., 54
 Akhenaten, k., *see* Amenophis
 IV
 Akhlâmu, 93-98, 101, 107 ff., 112,
 128³
 Akip-Teshup, p., 53
 Akit-Teshup, p., 89
 Akiya, p., 54

Akizzi, p., 54
 Akshak, l., 14, 27
 Akshapa, c., 61
 alâku, Acc., 23²
 Alalakh, c., 4, 9, 27, 45, 49, 53,
 62; —*maryannu* in, 66; —72,
 77, 81 f., 144¹; figs. 28, 29 a
 Alâšu (Cyprus), 25, 45²
 Aleppo, c., 2, 11, 14, 27, 37, 44,
 77, 82, 85, 90, 99, 113, 133, 143
 alphabet, the, 13⁷, 111
 Alshe, c. and l., 85, 89
 Amanus, mts., 6, 15⁴, 43, 111
 Amarna, c., 3, 32, 44, 54, 56;
 — and Indo-Aryans, 59-63,
 69; —79, 82⁴, 94, 96, 119¹,
 121, 129³, 130, 137-139, 143, 146
 Ambizina, p., 57, 150
 Amenemhab, p., 133, 144¹
 Amenophis, k., —I, 10, 76, 81;
 —II, 81, 86, 133; —III, 52,
 81, 83, 86, 134; —IV, 3, 74¹,
 81, 83 f., 86 f., 91, 138

Ammiṣaduqa, k., 7, 35
Ammōn, l., 119, 121, 125, 127 ff., 140
Amon, d., 83
Amorites, 18-21, 23-26, 28, 45, 49 f., 75, 96, 112, 141, 146; *see* Amurrū
Amosis, k., 10, 76, 81; —p., son of Abina, 132
Amosis-pen-nekhbet, p., 132
Amonq, l., 115
Amrāphel, k., 31
Amurrū, l., 15, 19, 21, 43, 54, 60, 87, 97-99, 109, 135; *see* Amorites
Amut-pi-el, k., 25, 31⁴
Ana(h), d., 22
Anat, c., 102, 109
Anath, d., 19 f.
Anatolia, l., 6, 16, 22, 27, 35, 46, 64, 98
andarāru, Acc., 18¹
Andāya, k., 59, 151
ankh, Eg., 72, 77²
ANSU.KUR.RA, Sum., 66
anthropology, 14⁶, 35², 5¹, 64
Antilibanus, mts., 6, 124
Apina, *see* Upe
Apīru, *see* Khapīru
Apqu, c., 108
Arabia, l., 15
Arabic, 20, 95
ARAD-Khepa, k., 54, 138
Araḥti, l., 54, 85
Araḥtum, d., 94
Araīna, c., 133
Aram, 95 ff., 122, 140 ff.
Aramaean, 2, 4, 29, 93-97, 100-105, 115, 120; —states 123-127; —names 126⁵; —146 f.
Aram Naharaim, l., 131-145
arārah, *see* Alalakh
Arbit, c., 27
ardū, Acc., 67²
Ariḥ-harpa, p., 53
Arik-dēn-ilu, k., 81, 94, 98, 106
Arinna, d., 71, 88
Arishen, p., 44, 47
Ariwana, k., 60, 151
Arma, c., 95
Armenoid, 14⁶, 51

Arnāpi, p., 53
Arnuwandas, k., —I, 81, 94, 97; —II, 55, 98, 100, 148; —III (1), 148
Arpachiyah, c., 40
Arrapkha, l., 25, 27, 38, 53, 77, 79
Arslan-Tash, c., 104²
art, 23, 40; —glyptic 71, 112; —113-116, 146
arta (= Rta), Ind., 70
Artadāma, k., 149; —I, 56, 81, 82, 84; —II, 56, 80, 85, 89, 138
Artamanya, k., 60, 151
Artamna, p., 57, 150
Artasumara, k., 56, 81, 85, 149
Artaya, p., 60, 151
Arvad, l., 100, 109, 135
arya, Ind., 38
Arzawiya, p., 60, 151
Arzaya, p., 60, 151
Aşallı, c., 105
Ascalon, c., 62, 65, 144¹
Ashmu-Nikkal, p., 55
Ashnunnak, *see* Eshnunna
Ashṭata, l., 84
Asia Minor, l., 15 f., 107, 111
“**A**siatics”, 45², 75, 94, 135
Assur, d., 113, 117, 142
Assurbanapal, k., 6, 46, 99, 120, 126
Assur-bēl-kala I, k., 96¹, 98, 110
Assurdan, k., —I, 98, 108; —II, 105, 110
Assur-nādin-ahhē, k., —I, 8; —II, 81
Assur-nādin-apli, k., 98, 108
Assur-nāṣir-apli II, k., 21⁶, 44, 103, 115, 127
Assur-nirari III, k., 98
Assur-rabi, k., —I, 8; —II, 105, 125
Assur-resh-ishi, k., 98, 102, 108
Assur-uballīt I, k., 81 f., 84, 89, 98
Assyria(n), 3 f., 16, 22 f., 33 f., 43⁶, 64, 77, 89, 105-111, 113; —laws, 117; —142; fig. 32; *see* Old, Middle, and Late **A**syan
Ašuzana, p., 58, 150
ašva, Ind., 153
Attasāma, p., 58, 150
Atilu, c., 65
Adurta, p., 58, 150
Avaris, c., 75
avīlu, Acc., 67²
Aziru, k., 54, 81, 87, 97 f., 138
ba'āl, Hb., 67²
Baalam, p., 119 f., 140
Babylon (dynasties), —I, 3 f., 7, 9 f., 18, 45, 49, 72, 81, 94, 105, 120; —II, 10, 81; —III, 10; figs. 23, 49; *see* Old, Middle, and Late Babylonian
Baghdad, c., 5, 76
Bahuvrīhi, Ind., 153
Balak, k., 119
Balikh, r., 5, 14, 73, 140
Bardašwa, k., 58, 150, 153
Barga, l., 59, 65
Barkal stele, 132⁵, 136⁷
Barth-Ginsberg law, 20²
bārū, Acc., 120
Ba'sa, k., 125
Bāyawa, k., 60, 151, 153
Bedarta, p., 58, 150
Bedašūra, p., 58, 150
Bedawin, 13, 93-97, 100-105
Beruit, c., 87
Bela, k., 120
Benteshina, k., 54, 98 f.
Bentresh stele, 136
Beor, k., 120
Berothai, c., 124, 129
Betah, c., 129
Bethel, c., 121
Beth Rehob, l., 125
Beth Shan, c., 99, 121
Beth Shemesh, c., 128
Bilalama, k., 148
Birasēna, p., 60, 151
Birazana, p., 58, 150
Biridašwa, k., 60, 151, 153
Biridiya, k., 60, 151
Birya, p., 58, 150
Biryasauma, p., 60, 151
Biryāšūra, p., 58, 150, 153
Biryatti, p., 58, 150
Biryawāza, k., 60, 94, 138, 151, 153

Bit-Adini, l., 102, 104, 142
 Bit-Bahiāni, l., 103, 105, 115
 Bit-Halupe, l., 103
 Bit-Zamāni, l., 103
 Boghazköy, c., anc. Khattusas, 36, 38, 45, 55, 71, 79 ff., 97, 113, 153; fig. 17
buntum, Acc. (West-Semitic), 21⁴
 Burnaburiash II, k., 81, 83, 89, 98, 101, 138
 Byblos, c., 8, 74, 87, 109, 120, 138, 140
 Calah, c., 107, 115; figs. 41 and 42
 camel, the, 94, 111; figs. 33 and 34
 Canaanite, 19, 112, 120 f., 137, 145
 Cappadocia(n), 10, 16, 21-23, 28, 36, 45, 48; fig. 11
 Carchemish, c., 2, 25, 27, 61, 77, 82, 90, 94, 99, 102, 104, 107, 113, 115, 133, 135, 143; figs. 34 and 38
 Cassites, 38, 49, 53, 64, 69, 71, 98, 113; fig. 35
 Cataonia, l., 55¹
 Caucasian, 52
 Cedar Forest, 15⁴, 43
 Chagar Bazar, c., 9 f., 16, 22¹, 27, 45, 49, 69, 72
 chariotry, 26, 28, 45², 66, 76, 129; figs. 21 and 22
 charism, 122
 Chedor-laomer, k., 31
 Chronicler, the, 142; —date of, 143
 chronology, 6-11; —tables of, 10, 81, 98; —of Judges, 121³
 Chun, c., 124, 129
 Cilicia, l., 22, 55¹
 codes, *see* laws
 conquest, Israelite, 119 ff.
 Crete, l., 11³, 25, 76
 cuneiform, 13, 22, 36, 53, 114
 Cyprus, l., *see* Alašu

Dadu-Khepa, p., *see* Tatu Khepa
 Dadusha, k., 148
 Dagan, d., 19, 26, 33, 45
Dəhy, Eg., *see* Zahi

Damascus, c., 96, 126, 129 f.
 Danu-Khepa, p., 55
 Dapur, c., 99, 144¹
 Dāsarti, p., 60, 151
 David, k., 98, 124, 127-130, 140, 143, 147
dāridum, Acc., 26, 124
 deities, 19, 26; —Amorite, 18-21; —Hittite, 88; —Hurrian, 48, 71, 117; —Vedic, 56, 63, 70, 153; *see* religion

dēmos, Gr., 41
 Derden, l., 135
 determinism, 118
devas, d., 63, 153
 Dewatti, k., 61, 151
 Didānu, k., 124¹
 Dilbat, c., 38, 45
 diphthongs, 153
 dirta, k., 56, 57¹, 149
 divination, 24, 120; *see* religion
 Diyala, r., 5¹
 Diyarbekir, c., 103
 documents, business, 25, 43; —transmission of, 120, 131¹; —as sources, 139 f.
 Dōtayim, var. Dotān, c., 141
 ٰٰٰ, 120
 dual, 137, 141, 143
 Dubbi-Teshup, k., 81, 98
 Dupkiašum, p., 44
 DU-Teshup, k., *see* IR-Teshup

East Canaanites, 19
'ebed, Hb., 67²
'ever han-nahar, Hb., 126 f., 140
ebir nāri, Acc., 126
 Edessa, c., 2, 5, 131
edešu, Acc., 23²
 Edom, l., 54⁸, 119 ff., 127, 139
egēru (*gr*), Acc., 43⁵
 Egypt(ian), 3, 15, 45; —rule in Asia, 74-78, 86, 97-100, 109, 129, 141; —texts, 131-137; —vocalization, 137; —exorcitation texts, 10, 29⁵, 75, 94; figs. 21, 30, and 31

Egypt, Dynasties of, —II, 74; —III, 74; —V, 74; —VI, 10, 74; —XII, 6, 10, 45², 75; —XIII-XVII, 10, 45²; —XVIII, 3, 10, 64, 81, 98, 132 ff., 144¹; —XIX, 81, 97 f., 135; —XX, 98

Ehli-Teshup, p., 53
 Ekallāti, c., 25
 Elam, l., 15, 17, 25, 31, 33, 43
 Elamite, 38, 47, 52, 64, 108
 Eli, p., 123
 Eliezer, p., 30
 Eluhat, l., 22
 Elyada, p., 130
 Enannatum, k., 17
 Enlil-kudur-usur, k., 98
 Enlil-nirari, k., 44, 81, 98, 104, 106
 ensi, 13
 Entin, k., *see* Yantinhamu
 EN.ZU, Sum., 28
erēbu, Acc., 23²
erēni, Acc., 15⁴
 Eridu, c., 14, 42
 Erwi-żarri, p., 53
 Eshnunna, c. and 1., 14, 26, 148
 Eteš-šenni, p., 53
 Etruscans, 100
 Euphrates, r., 2, 5, 76 f., 102, 106, 126, 129, 136, 141, 144¹, 147
 execration texts, *see* Egypt

Fara, c., (anc. Shuruppak), 14, 42, 47
 Fekhkheriyeh, c., 79
 feudal society, 67 f.

Galilee, l., 135
 Gashga, 91, 94, 97 f., 108
 Gasur, c., *see* Nuzu
 Gebelen, c., 76
 Gelteshup, p., 30
genos, Gr., 41
 geography, 5 f., 144
 Geshur, l., 125
 Gibeon, c., 65
 Gideon, p., 122
 Gilead, l., 124
 Gilgamesh, p., 146
 Gilimninu, p., 30
 Ginti-ashna, c., 63
 glyptic art, *see* art
 Golān, l., 125
 Gōzān, l., 103, 115
 Greece, 100

Gubla, c., *see* Byblos
 Gūddashuna, c., 61
 Gudea, k., 16 f., 21; fig. 10
guilloche, 72 f.
 Guti, 9 f., 16, 38, 47 f., 146

HA.A^{KI}, c., 42
 Habdu-Malik, p., 19⁷
habiru, Acc., *see* Khapiru
 Hadad, d., *see* Adad; —k., 121³
 Hadadezer, k., 125-130, 141
 Hadatu, c., *see* Arslan-Tash
 Hagar, p., 30
halâk, Aram., *see* *ilkū*
 Halpa, c., *see* Aleppo
balzuħlu, Acc., 65
 Hama (Hamath), c., 10, 27, 73,
 124, 129⁴, 140
 Hamites, 38
 Hammurabi, k., —of Aleppo, 25,
 27 (?) ; —of Babylon, 7-10, 18,
 24 f., 33-35, 43, 47 f., 145 f.,
 148; —Code of, 34, 142³, 148,
 fig. 14; —of Kurda, 25³
 Hana, l., *see* Khana
 Hanigalbat, l., 44, 79, 81, 98,
 109 ff., 142, 147
 Hanon, k., 141
 Haremheb, k., 81, 97 f., 136
 Harran, c., 22, 25, 50, 90, 96,
 104, 140
harrān šarri, Acc., 50
 Ḥarrū, l., 38, 54, 132
 Hatshepsut, queen, 10, 77, 81
 Hatti, l., 60¹, 113
 Hattin, l., 96
 Ḥaurān, l., 124
 Hazi, c., 59, 61
 Hazor, c., 129
 Hebrew, 14; —tradition, 120 ff.,
 143, 146
 Hecataeus, p., 131
hekhal, Hb., 14
 Helam, c., 128
 Hermon, mt., 124 f.
 Herodotus, p., 131
 Ḥešalla, p., 53
 hieroglyphs, 35 ff. (Hit.), 74 (Eg.
 and Bybl.); figs. 16 a and b
billani (*hitlani*), Acc., 116
 Ḥimārān, c., 141

Hindān, l., 102, 109
 Hišmaya, p., 54
 Hit, c., 15, 25, 33, 48
 Hittites, 2, 11, 32, 35-37; —Code,
 37; —48 f., 52, 54⁸, 63, f. 66,
 69², 76³, 82, 84 ff., 148;
 —treaties, 88; 97-100, 107;
 —art, 113; —135, 146; figs.
 15, 17, 22, *and* 30
 Hivites, 54⁸
hofši, Hb., 67
 Ḥoms, c., 124, 129
 Horites, 54, 146
 horse, the, 28, 45², 56-66 *and*
 Appendix (nos. 10, 11, 20,
 30-32, 40¹), 53, 68, 69, 80),
 69, 76, 129
Hrju-š, Eg., 77
Hry, as "Hurrian", 42
hupšu, Acc., *see* *hofši*
 Ḥurri, l., 38, 44, 62, 80 f.
 Hurrian(s), 2 f., 27 f., 37-40,
 44-50; —in Mitanni, 51-55;
 —names, 30, 44, 49, 51-55, 66
 Hyksos, 4, 11, 31⁵, 45², 75 f.

ja preformative, 20
jamina, banū, Acc., 26,
 Ibal-pi-el, k., 25
 I(b)bi-Sin, k., 17
 Idi-ilum, k., 25
 Idrimi, k., 82
ἰερὸς γάμος, 17⁴
 Ikathi, c., 78
 Ilanzura, c. *and* l., 25
ilkū, Acc., 68
 Iluma-Ilu, k., 34
 Ilum-ishar, p., 25
 Ilum-malik (muluk), p., 19⁷
 Ilushumma, k., 10, 18
imēru, Acc., 27
 Indarota, k., 61, 151, 153
 Indo-Aryan, names, 56-64, 144¹,
 149-153; —royalty, 64 ff.;
 —problem, 68-70
 Indo-European, 35³, 36, 53, 72
 Indra, d., 63, 153
ināma, Acc., 138⁶
iqqēr, Hb., 129⁵
 Iranian, 69 f., 153
 Irkata, c., 78

iron, 35², 68, 104, 111
 Irrite, c., 79, 90
Irši(mil)la, p., 54
 IR-Teshup, k., 54, 65, 81, 97 f.
 Isaac, p., 30
išakku, Acc., 13, 25
 Ishbi-Irra, k., 10, 17
 Ishmael, p., 30
 Ishme-Dagan, k., 10, 17, 24⁸
 Ishtar, d., 16, 26, 83, 88
 Ishtarmuwa, k., 98, 100
 Ishšup-Ilum, k., 25
 Išuwa, l., 84 f.
 Isin, l., 9 f., 50, 148
 Israel, 118 ff., 139 ff., 147
 Iturmer, d., 26

Jacob, p., 30, 73
 Jemdet Nasr period, 13, 114
 Jericho, c., 119, 121
 Jerusalem, c., 138, 141
 Joab, p., 128
 Joshua, p., 121
 Josiah, k., 140
 Judah, l., 127 ff.
 Judges, 98, 121-123, 140, 142

Kadashman-Enlil (Harbe), k.,
 —I, 81, 83, 101; —II, 98, 101
 Kadashman-Turgu, k., 98, 107
 Kadesh (Kinza), c., 44, 59, 62, 76
 ff., 85, 87, 97, 99, 106, 129, 132
 ff., 140, 144; figs. 22 b *and* 30

Kahat, c. *and* l., 27
 Kaldu, *see* Kašdu
 Kalmašūra, p., 58, 150
 Kapara, k., 103, 114 ff., 130²
 Kaptara, l., *see* Crete
 Karacadağ, mt., 5, 103
 Karasu, r., 6
 Karatepe, c., 113⁵
 Karnak, c., 77, 135 f.
 Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta, c., 108
kārum, Acc., 22
 Kašdu (= *Kešed*, *Kasdīm*), Acc.,
 101
 Kashiari, mts., 79, 106 f.
 Kastiliash, k., 98, 108¹
 Kedy, l., *see* Qode
 Kelekes, l., 135
 Kelu-Khepa, p., 52, 65, 81, 88

Khabur, r., 2, 9, 14, 39, 47, 72, 79, 90, 103, 143; —ware, 27; figs. 1 and 2
 Khadianu, k., 103, 130²
 Khalab, c., *see* Aleppo
 Khana, l., 45, 79
 Khapiru, 26, 32, 86, 94, 126⁴, 138, 146
 Khashshi, l., 25
 Khatti, *see* Hittite
 Khattusas, c., *see* Boghazköy
 Khattusilis, k., —I, 10, 37; —II, 81, 84; —III, 55, 65, 98 f., 101, 103, 107
 Khayana, k., 10, 45², 76
 Khepa, d., 54, 71
khnm, Ugaritic, 66⁷
 Khorsabad, c., 8, 33¹
 Khurri, d., 71
ki, Acc., 138⁶
 Kiklipalatin, p., 44
 Kilamuwa, k., 115
 Kinaħħi, l., 60¹
 king-lists, 7 f., 14
 Kinza, c., *see* Kadesh
 Kirkuk, c., *see* Arrapkha
 Kish, c., 14
 Kizwatna, l., 55, 61, 82
 Kudur-Enlil, k., 98
 Kudur-Mabuk, k., 17, 21
kullum, Acc. (West-Semitic), 21⁴
 Kültepe, c., fig. 11
 Kumarbi, d., 48, 71
 Kummiya (Kumme, Kumma), c., 48
 Kummuh (Kutmuħ), l., 106, 108, 110, 142
kumrūm, Acc., (West-Semitic), 21⁴
 Kurigalzu III, k., 81, 91, 98, 101, 106
 Kush, l., 134
 Kushan Rishathaim, k., 122 f., 140
 Kussar, c., 36
 Kuter-Nahhunte, k., 31
 Laban, p., 29, 73
 Labarnas, k., 10, 36
 Lagash, c., 13
 Laķē, c., 103
 language, 40, 51, 111, 141
 Larsa, c., 9 f., 14, 16
 Late Assyrian, 44, 95⁶, 115, 147
 Late Babylonian, 43
 laws, Assyrian, 37, 117; —Babylonian, 34, 148; —Hittite, 37; —Sumerian, 148
 Leah, p., 30
 Lebanon, mts., 6, 15, 85, 111, 134⁶, 144
lex talionis, 34, 37, 117
 Libya, l., 15, 100
 Lim, d., 28
limu, Acc., 22, 27
 Lipit-Ishtar, k., 148
 Litāni, r., 6, 124
 lug al, 13
 Lugal-anni-mundu, k., 43
 Lugalzaggisi, k., 15
 Lulaħħu, 88
 Lullians, 38
 Lullu, l., 30
 Lullumū, 102, 106, 108
 Luqmān, p., 120 f.
 Luvian(s), 35, 36²
 Maacah, p. and l., 125, 141
 Malatiya, c., 116; fig. 44
malkē, Acc., 101
 Mamie, d., 94
 Manishtusu, k., 16
 mār bīt N., Acc., 101
 Marduk, d., 113, 117
 Marduk-nādin-ahhe, k., 98
 Marduk-shāpik-zer-māti, k., 101
 Marhaši, l., 15, 33, 43
 Mari, c., 3, 8, 10, 14-16, 20, 23-26, 33 f., 45, 69, 96, 105, 124, 141, 145 ff.; figs. 9, 12 and 13
 Marniptah, k., 98, 100, 121
 MAR.TU, 19, 21; *see* Amorites
 Marutaš, d., 63
 mārūti, ana, Acc., 68
maryannu, 54, 64, 66 f., 70, 85, 89, 133, 135, 144¹
 māt Arime, Acc., 104
 māt Hatti, Acc., 113
 Matiwaza, k., 56, 79, 81, 89-91, 149
 Mayarzana, k., 61, 152
 Medinet Habu, c., 136
 Megiddo, c., 10, 60, 81, 129, 132
melek, Hb., 123
 Melid, l., 109
 Melitene, l., 79, 107
 Merodochbaladan I, k., 98
 Mesha, k., 124¹
 Mesheneth, l., 135
 metathesis, 142³, 154
 Mezulla, d., 88
 Middle Assyrian, 44, 95; —empire, 105-111; — 115, 146; fig. 36
 Middle Babylonian, 101
 Midianites, 119, 121³
 Milcah, p., 29
 Mitanni, l., 45, 51-92 (esp. 78, 81), 113, 132 ff., 144¹, 146 f.
 Mitannian, "language", 2, 38; —names 56 f., 149, 153; —ware, 9, 72 f., figs. 27-29; —captives, figs. 19 and 20; —seals, figs. 25 and 26
 Mitra, d., 63
 Moab(ites), 115, 119, 121, 127, 140
 monarchy, Israelite, 123
 monotheism, Eg., 86; —Israélite, 118
 Moses, p., 139 f.
 Mukish, l., 79, 85
muluk (*malik*), Acc., 19
 Mursilis, k., —I, 10, 37, 49, 81; —II, 81, 82³, 84, 91, 97 f.
mušāħizu, Acc., 28
 Mushqi, 93, 98, 105, 108
 Mušħuna, c., 62, 64
 Mušru, l., 106, 109
muštemki, Acc., 142
 Mut, d., 136
 Mutkinu, c., 105, 125
 Muwatallis, k., 81, 97-99, 135
 Mycenean, 113
 Nabonidus, k., 17^{3,4}, 29²
 Nabu-apal-iddin, k., 94
 Nachas, k., 127
 nādātūm, Acc., 25
 Naharaim, *see* Aram Naharaim

Naharin, Eg., 76 ff., 80, 86, 99, 132-137; —primarily geographic, 136; —spelling, 137; —143 f.

Nahor, p., 30

Nahrima, Acc., 3, 80, 138 f., 141, 143

Nahur (*Nahor*), c., 25, 140

Nairu, l., 21, 44, 107, 109 f.

Namazzani, p., 58, 150

Namiawaza, incorrect for *Bir-yawāza*, 138⁴

NANNA, Sum., 28

Nannar, d., 28

Naram-Sin, k., 14-16, 26, 43, 50, 96, 145; fig. 8

Násatyas, Ind., 63, 70

Nasi (*Nesi*), 35

nation, 41

nawirtum, Acc., 43⁷

Nazimāruttash, k., 98, 106

Nebka, k., 74

Nebuchadrezzar, k., —I, 98, 108; —II, 147

Nefer-hotpe I, k., 9 f.

Nergal, d., 26

Nesa, c., 36

Nigimtu, l., 106

Nikkal-matu, p., 55

Nimrûd, c., *see* *Calah*

“Nine Bows”, 136

Nin-egal, d., 26

Nineveh, c., 27, 33, 40, 49

Ningirsu, d., 13

Ninurta-tukulti-Assur, k., 94, 98

Nippur, c., 13, 34, 38, 50, 71

Niqmepa, k., 82

Nirua, p., 54

Nisibis, c., 2, 27, 79, 89, 103, 110

Niwar-Mer, k., 25

Niya, c. and l., 54, 77, 82, 85, 132 f.

Northwest-Semitic, 112, 119², 140, 143

Nubia, l., 15

Nukhashshe, l., 77, 82, 87, 97, 99

Nuzu, c., 3, 9, 16, 30, 32, 38, 43 ff., 49, 52 f.; —names, 57-59, 65; —67 f., 73 f., 791, 81 f., 114, 146, 150 f., 153 ff.

Old Accadian, 43 f., 49

Old Assyrian, 22

Old Babylonian, 24, 43, 45, 94, 148

Old Testament, 3 f., 139-142

Orontes, r., 6, 76, 86, 140, 144

orthostates, 114-116; figs. 33, 43, 45-47

Othniel, p., 122

padānu, Acc., 96

Palaic, 36²

Palestine, l., 4, 59-63, 5 f., 86, 99, 119 ff., 132 f., 142, 144¹

Palie, l., 103

Palmyra, c., 95

Pan-Subarianism, 38-40

Parahse, l., *see* *Marhaši*

Paršasatar, k., 56, 64, 81 f., 149

Patriarchs, the, 27 ff., 73 f., 96, 131¹, 139 f., 146

patronymic, 153

Patuzana, k., 61, 152

Paul, St., 122

Pedes, l., 135

Pentateuch, the, 139 f.

people, 41

Philistines, 124, 127

philology, 40

Phiops, k., —I, 74; —II, 74

Phoenicia, l., 6, 13⁷, 74 ff., 100, 109

pictographs, 13⁷, 35

Piphururia, k., *see* *Tutankhamon*

Pitru (*Pethor*), c., 104, 120, 125, 140

Piyasilis, k., 90 f.

pottery, 38, 40; —Mitannian 72; —125

Prākrit, Ind., 153

Prince, the Doomed, 136

Pudu-Khepa, p., 55

Puhi-šenni, p., 53

Purdāya, p., 61, 152

Purukuzzi, l., 108

Purulli, c., 30

Puruša, p., 58, 150

Puttimadal, p., 44

Puzur-Assur, k., —II, 22; —III, 10, 148

Qabia, p., 54

Qarnaim, c., 141

Qarqar, c., 4, 125, 130

Qatna, c., 26, 45, 54, 75

Qattunān, c., 141

Qedem, l., 120, 140

Qiryathaim, c., 141

qīštu, Acc., 68

Qode l., 132, 135, 144¹

Qumanu, l., 110

Qutū, 102, 108

rabāti, Acc., 65

race, 41, 51, 54

Rachel, p., 30

Rahbu, Eg., 125

Ramesses, k., —I, 81, 97 f.; —II, 81, 97-100, 106 f., 133⁷, 135 f., 144¹; —III, 98, 100, 123, 136, 143; —IV-XII, 98; —XII, 100

Rapiqu, c., 27, 102, 106

Rās el-'Ain, c., 79

Ras Shamra, c., anc. Ugarit, 4, 13⁷, 19-21, 23, 25, 28, 54; —Indo-Aryans (?) in, 63¹; —*maryannu* in, 66⁷; —135, 145

Rehob, c., 125

religion, 40, 120; —Aramaean, Assyrian, 116-118; —Canaanite, 74 f., 121; —Hittite, 88; —Indo-Aryan, 63, 153; —Israelite, 118, 122, 129; —Mitannian, 68, 71

réšu, Acc., 23²

Retenu, l., 75 ff., 132, 134, 143 f.

Rezón, k., 130

rhyt, Eg., 134

Rib-Addi, k., 87, 138

Rig Veda, 56-66 and Appendix, *passim*

Rimi-sharma, k., 84

Rim-Sin, k., 18, 25, 33, 94

Rimush, k., 16

Rta, d., 63, 153

Ručmania, k., 61, 152

Saimašūra, p., 58, 150

Sam'al, c., 104

Samarra tablet, 44, 47

Samson, p., 122

Samsuditana, k., 35

Samsu-iluna, k., 34
 Samuel, p., 123
 sang u, 13
 Sanskrit, 64¹, 153
 Sarah, p., 29 f.
 Šardarmat, p., 44
 Sardinians, 100
 Sargon, of Accad, k., 3, 15 f., 26, 147; —I of Assyria, 10, 22
 šar kiššati, Acc., 33, 106
 šarrāni, Acc., 101
 Sattawaza, p., 58, 150
 Satuara, k., 149, 153; —I, 57, 79, 81, 98, 106; —II, 57, 79, 81, 98, 107
 Saul, k., 121³, 127
 Saumati, p., 63¹, 148, 153
 Šaumšien, p., 44, 63¹
 Saushsatar, k., 52, 57, 59¹, 64, 72, 77, 79, 81 f., 114, 134, 144¹, 149; fig. 26
 Saušsatti, p., 59, 150, 153
 Šbr, "Subarian", 42
 script, Accadian, 13, 141, 148; —Aramaic, 54⁸, 115, 128²; —Canaanite, 74; —Hittite, 36, 40
 seals, cylinder, 13, 16, 72, 112 f.; figs. 4-7, 25 and 35
 Sea-Peoples, 98, 100, 123; fig. 31
 Seir, mt., 54⁸
 Semites, 14-18, 23 ff., 45, 64, 75, 119², 145; *see* Assyrian, Amorite, Aramaean, Babylonian, Canaanite, etc.
 semivowels, 59, 154
 Septuagint, the, 68, 125, 128², 140, 142
 Serug, c., 30
 Sesostris, k., —II, 45², 75; —III, 75
 Sethos I, k., 81, 97, 135
 Shabili, k., 98 f.
 Shahar, d., 22
 Shalmaneser, k., —I, 46, 81, 96, 102, 106; —III, 104, 130
 Shamash, d., 26, 28
 Shamshi-Adad, k., —I, 8-10, 24⁸, 33, 142 f.; —II, 10, 148
 Sharuhen, c., 76
 Sharuna, c., 61
 Shawushka, d., 71

Shechem, c., 13⁷, 54⁸, 60, 62, 65, 75
 Shennima, p., 30
 Sheri, d., 71
 Shiloh, c., 121
 Shimike, d., 71
 Shishac, k., 127
 Shumu-Abum, k., 18
 Shupria, l., 44, 103, 142, 147
 Shuruppak, c., *see* Fara
 Shu-Shin, k., 45¹
 sibilants, 154 f.
 Sidon, c., 54⁸, 87, 109
 Simmash-shipak, k., 94
 Sin, d., 17, 26, 28 f.
 Sinai, mt., 13⁷, 139
 Sin-muballit, k., 18
 Sinuhe, p., 75
 Sinzar, c., 82
 Sippar, c., 94
 Šir - g a l, 21
 Skmm, Eg., 75
 slavery, 43, 67, 148
 Solomon, k., 128-130
 Soma, d., 63, 153
 storm-god, the, 48, 71⁴
 Štyic, Eg., 94
 Šty, Eg., 94⁷
 SU.(A^{KI}), "Subartu", 42
 Sua, people, 17, 94⁷
 Subandu, k., 61, 152 f.
 SU.BAPPIR, Sum., 42
 Subarian(s), 37-44; —language, 42; —names, 43³; —107
 Subartu, l., 15, 33, 38, 40, 72
 Šubur, "Subarian", 42
 Sudarna, k., 149; —I, 10, 57, 79, 81 f.; —II, 52, 57, 81, 83, 89, 134; —III, 57, 80 f., 85, 89 ff.; —dynast of Mušibuna, 62, 64
 SU.EDIN^{KI}, Sum., 38
 Suḫu, l., 102, 109
 sukallu, Acc., 65
 Sumala, p., 59, 150
 Sumalia, d., 63
 Sumaš, Sumaštu, wrong readings for *Subir*, *Subirtu*, 38
 Sumatra, p., 59, 151
 Sumer(ian), 5, 11-14, 17, 38, 145, 148
 Sumida, p., 61, 152

Sumittarash, k., *see* Sumida
 Šumur, c., 60, 109
 Šunašura, k., 61, 64, 84, 87, 152
 Suppiluliumas, k., 55, 81, 84-92 *passim*, 98
 suqaqu, Acc., 26
 Suradarna, p., 57, 149
 Suri, Suriti, l., wrong for Subir, Subartu, 38
 Susa, c. and l., 25, 38, 44
 Sutadara, k., 149, 152; —of Hurri (= Sudarna III), 57, 81, 85; —of Kadesh, 62, 64
 Sutu, 88, 92-98, 101
 Svar, d., 63, 153
 Swardāta, p., 62, 65, 152 f.
 Swatiti, p., 62, 65, 152
 syllabaries, Old Acc., 52; —137
 symbiosis, Indo-Aryan and Hurrian, 55, 64-68, 146
 Syria, l., 3, 37, 59-63, 72, 97, 124, 132-144, 151 ff.

Taanach, c., 54, 61
 Tadmor, c., *see* Palmyra
 Tagu, p., 54
 Taharqa, k., 136
 Taida, c., 79
 Takhsî, l., 133
 Takuhuli, p., 54
 Takuwa, p., 54
 Talmai, k., 127
 Tanis, c., 10
 Tarbušu, c., 95
 Tarmiya, p., 53
 Tatpuruša, Ind., 153
 Tatū (Dadu)-Khepa, Eg. queen, 52, 65, 81, 83; —Hittite queen, 55
 Taurus, mts., 15, 55, 144
 tb (tuby), Eg., 126
 Tehip-tilla, p., 53
 Telebinus, k., 37, 84; —son of Suppiluliumas, 90
 Tell Asmar, c., 16
 Tell Aṭshâna, c., *see* Alalakh
 Tell Barsib, c., 14, 104²
 Tell Beit Mirsim, c., 121, 128; fig. 50
 Tell Billâ, c., 9, 27, 39, 72; fig. 27

Tell Braq, c., 9, 16, 27, 72; fig. 29 b
 Tell Feddān, c., 96
 Tell Germayir, c., 27
 Tell Ḥalāf, c., 2, 61, 27, 39, 103, 110, 114-116; figs. 33, 40, 43, 45-48
 Tell Hammam, c., 73
 Tell Ḥariri, c., *see* Mari
 Tell Harmal, c., 148
 Tell Ḥesi, c., 129
 Tell Jidle, c., 73
 Tell Judeideh, c., 10, 73
 Tell Nebi Mindu, c., *see* Kadesh
 Tell Yāhūdiyeh, c., 45³
 Tepe Gawra, c., 10, 13, 27, 72
 Terah, p., 29; —c., 30
 Teshup, d., 45¹, 53, 71, 83, 89
 texts, *see* Accadian, Egyptian, Hittite; —cuneiform, hieroglyphs, etc.
 Teye, queen, 86, 134
 Thebath, c., *see* Tubikh
 Thraco-Phrygians, 108
 Tiamat, d., 22
 Tidanum, mt., 21
 Tiglath-pileser, k., —I, 46, 79, 95, 98, 101 ff., 108, 142; —III, 95, 101
 Tigris, r., 5, 14, 79, 136, 141, 147
 Tihe, p., 54
 Til-Abni, c., 105
 Til-Nakhiri, c., *see* Nahur
 Tirqa, c., 33, 79, 90
 Tišpakkum, p., 44
 Tob, c., 126
 Transjordan, l., 119
 treaties, 25, 82-84, 87 f., 90, 100, 107
 Tsirtamyašta, p., 62, 152
 Tsitriyara, p., 62, 152
 Tubikh (Thebath), c., 124, 129
 Tudkhalias, k., —I, 82³, 84; —II, 81, 84; —IV, 55, 98 f., 100, 148; —V, 98, 100
 Tuishrata, k., 3; —letter of, 38; —52, 57, 71, 79-81, 83-92 *passim*, 136⁷, 138, 149
 Tukulti-Ninurta I, k., 44, 100, 102, 107, 117, 123
 Tunip, c., 54, 78, 82, 99, 133,

135, 144
 Ṭūr 'Abdīn, mts., *see* Kashiari
 Turin papyrus, 45²
 Turra, c., 134
 Turnqqu, l., 106
 Tutankhamon, k., 81, 91¹, 98
 Tuthmosis, k., —I, 10, 76, 77¹, 81, 132, 143; —II, 77; —III, 77 ff., 81 ff., 126, 129³, 132-135, 144¹; —IV, 81 f., 86
 Tuttul (Duddul), c., *see* Hit
 Tuwšmana, p., 59, 151
 Tyre, c., 6, 99
 Udazina, p., 59, 150
 Ugarit, c., *see* Ras Shamra
 Ullikummi (Ullakummu), d., 48
 Umbi-Teshup, k., 54
 Upe, l., 60, 62 f.
 Ur III, 9 f., 14, 16 f., 27 f., 36, 40, 43 f., 148
 Urartian, 52
 Urarṭu, l., 106
 Urfa, c., *see* Edessa
 Urkhi-Teshup, k., 53, 55, 98 f.
 Urkish, c., 47
 Urmia, Lake, 47
 Uruaṭru, l., *see* Urarṭu
 Urudīti, k., 62, 152 f.
 Uruk, c., *see* Warka
 Urukagina, k., 13
urumu, Acc., 109
 Uwakazaniya, k., 62, 152
 Uwantī, k., 62, 152
 Van, Lake, 44, 46-48
 Varuna, d., 63
 Vasus, d., 63, 153
 Vāyu, d., 63, 153
 Venus tablets, 7, 9
 Wāmpadura, p., 62, 152
 Wan (*W'n*), mt., 133
 Warad-Sin, k., 17
warah (*arak*, *erah*, *rah*), Acc., 28
 Warasama, p., 59, 151
 Warautu, p., 59, 151
 Warka period, 13 ff., figs. 4 and 5
 Wāsasatta, k., 57, 79, 81, 98, 106, 149
 Wasdata, p., *see* Yašdata
 Washshukkani, c., 39, 63, 79, 82, 85, 89, 106
 Wazi, p., 59, 151
 Wellhausenism, 131¹, 139 f.
 Wen-amun, story of, 100
 West-Semitic, 3, 19 f., 26
 Widya, k., 62, 144¹, 153
 Yagid-Lim, k., 20, 25
 Yaḥdun-Lim, k., 8, 20, 25
 Yamḥad, c., 25, 27
 Yamibanda, k., 61, 151
 Yamin, d., 63, 153
 Yamiuta, k., 61, 152
 Yansim-El, p., 20
 Yantin-ḥamu, k., 8 ff., 20, 25
 Yanuamma, c., 60
 Yanzib-Dagan, p., 20
 Yanzibum, p., 20
 Ya'qob'el, p., 28
 Yarim-Lim, k., 20
 Yarkab-Adad, p., 20
 Yašdata, p., 61, 152
 Yasim-Dagan, p., 20
 Yasim-sumū, p., 20
 Yasmaḥ-Adad, k., 8, 10, 24⁸, 25 ff., 33
 Yasmaḥ-Dagan, p., 20
 Yatar-āmi, k., 25
 Yatar-salim, p., 20
 Yauru, l., 106
 Yazilikaya, sanctuary, 113⁶; fig. 37
 Yeno'am, c., 99, 144¹
 Zab, Little, r., 5, 44, 53, 102, 108
 Zagros, mts., 5, 43 f., 46
 Zahi, l., 132 f., 135
 Zalpa, c., 36
 Zendjirli, c., 25, 115; figs. 24, 39
 ziggurat, Acc., 13; fig. 3
 Zike, p., 53
 Zimrida, k., 87
 Zimri-Lim, k., 8, 10, 25, 33, 43
 Zintukhi, d., 88
 Zinzar, l., 133
 Ziribashani, c., 60
 Zobah, l., 124, 128, 140 f.
 Zurašar, k., 63, 153
 Zurata, k., 63, 153

2. BIBLICAL

Genesis		Joshua		2 Samuel		2 Chronicles	
10:22, 23	30	9:7	54 ⁸ , 65	10:16-19	128 ^{2,3}	8:3	124
11:31	29	11:3	54 ⁸	13:37	125	20:2	122 ²
14:1	31	11:6, 9	129 ⁵	17:27	126 ⁵	Job	
15:4	30	12:5	125	21:8	126 ⁵		
16:2	30	13:2, 11, 13	125	24:7	54 ⁸	2:11	102
16:7	19 ⁴	19:28	125				
20	96	21:31	125				
21:10-12	30	24:2	29	1 Kings		Psalms	
22:20-23	30			5:4	126	60:2	140
24:10	140 ¹			10:29	127 ¹	89:21	19 ⁴
25:2	102, 123	Judges		11:23	124 ² , 128 ²	Isaiah	
25:20	30, 96	1:31	125	11:25	127 ¹		
28:2	30, 96	2:13 ff.	121	14:47	127 ³	37:12	103, 104
30:3, 9	30	3:3	54 ⁸	15:18	127 ¹		
34:2	65	3:8-10	122, 140 ⁴	15:20	125	Jeremiah	
36:2, 20	54 ⁸	4:5	122	17:6	103		
36:34	122	8:23	123	18:11	103	8:2	29 ²
36:39	121 ³	11:3-5	126				
Numbers		18:28	125			Ezekiel	
13:21	125			2 Kings		27:23	104
22:5	119 ³ , 140	1 Samuel		15:29	125		
23	119 ²	1-10	123	16:5	127 ¹	Hosea	
24	119 ²	7:16, 17	122	16:6	122 ²	9:10	19 ⁴
31:8, 16	119			17:31	128 ²	12:13	96 ⁴
Deuteronomy		2 Samuel		19:12	104		
2:12, 22	54 ⁸	8:3-12	128 ²	23:5	29 ²	Amos	
3:14	125	8:4	129 ⁵			1:5	104
4:19	29 ²	8:8	124, 129	18:3-8	124 ² , 129		
17:3	29 ²	8:12, 13	122 ²	18:3-10	128 ²	3:7	123
21:1-7	30	10:6 ff.	124 ²	19:6	127, 141 ¹		
23:5	119 ³ , 140 ²	10:8	125, 126	19:9-15	128 ¹	1 Corinthians	
26:5	30, 96	10:9-14	128 ¹	19:16, 17, 19	128 ^{2,3}	12:28-31	122
32:10	19 ⁴	10:16	126				